THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

POLICY REVIEW

Published by
The Heritage
Foundation

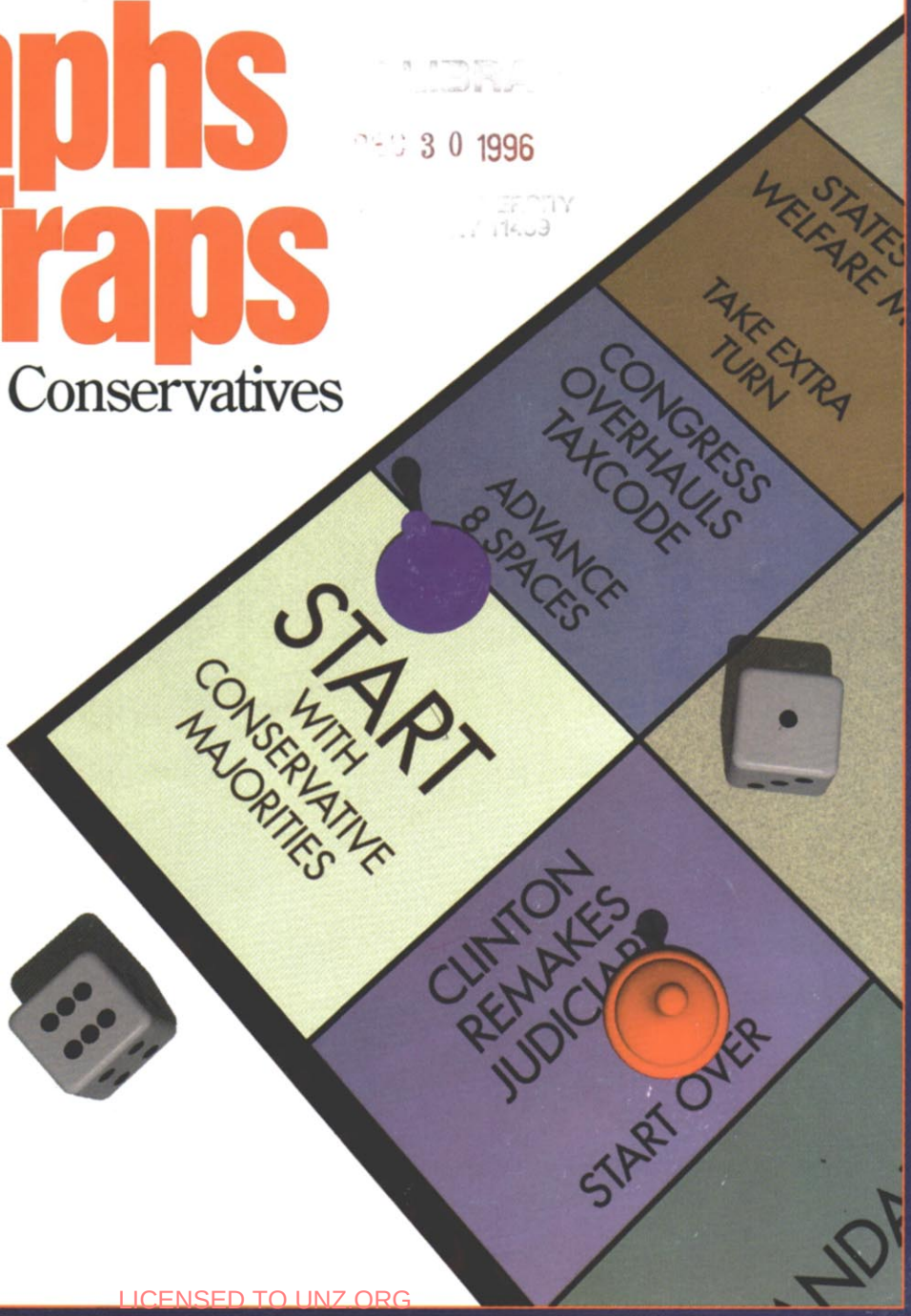
Jan. • Feb. 1997

The Rout of Liberalism
by Gov. John Engler

Triumphs And Traps

What's Ahead for Conservatives

Dick Armey
Steve Forbes
Lamar Alexander
Jeb Bush
Cal Thomas
Sam Brownback
Pete du Pont
Gary Bauer
and more . . .



DEC 30 1996

02>
73361 65831 9
U.S. $6.50 Can.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE — From *The Washington Times*
4 FREE Issues of our National Weekly Edition!

Fed up with how the liberal media reported on the '96 campaign? From the network newscasts to the major dailies, it's always the same— a liberal "spin," "slant," or "spike" in everything they report. Now you have a choice: The National Weekly Edition of *The Washington Times*!

Try it FREE!

No Risk . . . No Cost . . . No Obligation!

Here's all we ask, Give *The Washington Times* the old **"Kitchen Table Test."** Simply spread out any one of the four FREE issues you receive on your kitchen table and do a side-by-side comparison. **Decide for yourself!** You'll immediately see the striking difference between our National Weekly Edition and the newspaper you're now reading. *The Washington Times* is committed to arming you with the facts you'll need to track the next Congress!

★ ★ ★ Special 1996 Election Issue ★ ★ ★

AMERICA'S NEWSPAPER

The Washington Times

Volume 3, No. 46 — NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION — $2.50 (U.S.)

They're back – and maybe to face the music

Hillary sought to hire Huang over Brown's objections

By Andy Thibault and Jerry Seper

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton sought the hiring of Democratic fund-raiser John Huang as a top Commerce Department executive despite the objections of Secretary Ronald H. Brown, The Washington Times has learned.

"Huang was not put there willingly by Ron," said one of several sources familiar with Mr. Huang's 1994 appointment. "He came by White House directive. They stuck him there under the cloak of diversity.

"He was not Ron Brown's guy, and his presence caused intense conflict," the source said of the former Arkansas banker and Lippo Group official now at the center of a scandal over foreign campaign contributions to President Clinton and the Democratic National Committee. "Huang was carrying water for the White House."

Others, including a Commerce official who has been interviewed by House investigators probing suspected illegal foreign-linked political contributions to Democrats, said Mrs. Clinton's involvement was "common knowledge" among department officials.

see HILLARY, page 14

Top Clinton aides lead the charge to exit administration

By Paul Bedard

President Clinton's Cabinet and top aides began heading for the exits on Nov. 6, even before he returned from his victory party in Little Rock, driven by exhaustion and fears of being enmeshed in investigations of scandals.

Several said they are leaving because of the building congressional investigations into administration scandals and fears that Whitewater independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr will target the first lady.

As the president returned to a party on the White House's South Lawn, word swept across Washington that the secretaries of energy, state, defense and commerce would be quitting soon.

They will join several West Wing aides, including Chief of Staff Leon E. Panetta, who plan to leave the administration in the coming months. In addition, Sen. Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.) is expected to resign as Democratic National Committee general chairman.

The chief reasons for the evacuation: exhaustion after a long four years and a re-election campaign.

see AIDES, page 14

Clinton scores with women's vote

By Warren P. Strobel

President Clinton owes his re-election victory to the women. They came out for the Democratic incumbent at a record rate and made the often-debated "gender gap" the outstanding demographic feature of the 1996 presidential election.

Mr. Clinton won 54 percent of the female vote, compared with 37 percent for GOP nominee Bob Dole — a 17-point spread that nearly even the 8-point gap he enjoyed four years ago.

This president was elected because of the women of America," Sen. Dianne Feinstein, California Democrat, said Nov. 6 on CNN.

Mr. Clinton — whose campaign targeted female voters, especially time-starved working women the media labeled "soccer moms" — prevailed among virtually every subgroup of women.

The gender gap first began showing up in 1980 and now

see WOMEN, page 15

Reports of bizarre sex rituals stun Episcopal church

By Julia Duin

Twenty-seven bishops of the Episcopal Church have demanded an investigation into a magazine report that a "secret cadre of gay papal priests" has conducted bizarre sexual rituals at the altars of Harlem churches.

An account of the orgies in the Long Island diocese of New York, reported in the December issue of Penthouse magazine, details how the priests call themselves "the girls," using women's names for one another in private.

The rituals included a "sexual baptism" in a child's swimming pool in a church building, followed by the homosexual orgy in front of the altar.

This was followed by a same-sex "marriage" of the Rev. William Andries, 60, rector of St. Gabriel's Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, to Jairo Ferreira, 25, recently arrived from Brazil. Several priests attended the ceremony, performed April 20 in Mr. Andries' home by a priest in ecclesiastical vestments.

In another episode, the pudgy rector, dressed to resemble Marilyn Monroe, approached another Brazilian, standing nude in the church sanctuary, with a whip.

The bishop of the Diocese of Long Island to which St. Gabriel's belongs, the Right Rev. Orris Walker, said in a statement that Mr. Andries resigned two weeks ago.

"I am calling for an investigation of this most disturbing situation by the Chancellor's Office and have accepted the resignation of Father Andries' orders, and thus, his rectorship," Bishop Walker said.

He said the Penthouse story "distressed me deeply" and that "it was imperative that we make every effort to determine the truth of the allegations to be found in this article."

Officials of the Long Island dio-

see PRIESTS, page 15

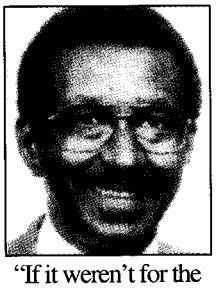
Special Election Report / 10 - 23
- State-by-state results / 18 - 23
- Thank you, David, and good night / 41
- The madness of Mao Tse-tung / 42

Election '96

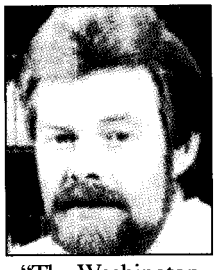
Send for your 4 FREE ISSUES of the National Weekly Edition: Do the "Kitchen Table Test" with *The Washington Times* — FREE!

" The Washington Times is the definitive journal of the New American Revolution."
– Tom Clancy

"Even the mavens of the establishment media admit: The Washington Times gets the story first."
– Rep. Dick Armey



"If it weren't for the yeoman-like work of the Washington Times, Americans might still be believing the daily lies and distortions from the major electronic and print media."
–Dr. Walter Williams



"The Washington Times breaks the stories the liberal media refuse to touch."
– L. Brent Bozell

"The Washington Times is the first paper I reach for in the morning. . . essential reading for anyone who cares about what goes on in the world today."
– Arianna Huffington

"Living in San Francisco, I find the National Edition of the Washington Times an indispensable weekly summary of what's going on in the nation's capital."
– William A. Rusher

CALL 1-800-363-9118. Please Mention Express Code: "UHJOSV"

Call today and order 4 weeks of The Washington Times National Edition free of charge! If you like it, you'll receive 48 more issues, for a total of 52, and pay only $59.95. If you decide not to subscribe, simply write "cancel" on your invoice and owe nothing at all. The 4 sample copies will be yours to keep!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP
POLICY REVIEW

January • February 1997
Number 81
Published by
The Heritage Foundation

Features

18 **Triumphs and Traps: What's Ahead for Conservatives**
DICK ARMEY
LAMAR ALEXANDER
GROVER G. NORQUIST
JACK FARIS
JEB BUSH
GARY BAUER
STEVE FORBES
SAM BROWNBACK
SALLY C. PIPES
JOHN H. FUND
JOHN C. GOODMAN
JOHN J. PITNEY JR.
ROBERT L. WOODSON
KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON
PETE DU PONT
WILLIAM A. NISKANEN
CAL THOMAS
TOD LINDBERG
DON EBERLY
THOMAS W. CARROLL
PAUL M. WEYRICH
BOB WILLIAMS
KAREN KERRIGAN &
THOMAS C. PATTERSON

44 **The Liberal Rout: Why Conservatives Are Winning in the 1990s**
Despite Clinton's victory, conservatives are winning—state by state by state
BY GOV. JOHN ENGLER

50 The Citizen Senator
Some members of Congress are helping the needy the old fashioned way—one on one
BY NICK SCHULZ

54 The Imperial Judiciary —And What Congress Can Do About It
Unelected federal judges are using their awesome power to usurp democracy from the American people
BY EDWIN MEESE III & RHETT DEHART

54

Departments

3 **Correspondence**

7 **Abuses and Usurpations**
Jessica Gavora on our uniformed corps of medical personnel that's costly, unnecessary—and reluctant to serve its country

9 **Blessings of Liberty**
Stephen Glass on a bank that's helping small businesses without help from the SBA

11 **Laboratories of Democracy**
Bernadette Malone on how conservative candidates and issues fared in state elections

13 **Home Front**
Charmaine Crouse Yoest on how private adoption groups are finding parents for the "unadoptables"

16 **One Nation Under God**
Immigrant job-training in New York that's reducing welfare rolls and empowering people

61 **Town Square**
News from the Citizenship Movement

64 **Profiles in Citizenship**
Samuel Gompers: A union boss who opposed partisan politics and government regulations

Cover illustration by Vince B. Rome / Advanced Laser Graphics

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

POLICY REVIEW

January • February 1997 Number 81

Editor Adam Meyerson
Deputy Editor Joe Loconte
Managing Editor D.W. Miller
Assistant Editor Sheila A. Moloney
Editorial Assistant Leslie Gardner
Contributing Editors Jessica Gavora
John Hood
Matthew Spalding
Charmaine Crouse Yoest

Publisher Edwin J. Feulner Jr.
Associate Publisher Katharine E. Moffett
Design & Publishing Assistant Jennifer Soininen

Policy Review (ISSN 0146-5945) is published bimonthly by The Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and additional mailing offices. The opinions expressed in *Policy Review* do not necessarily reflect the views of The Heritage Foundation.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE: Address letters to *Policy Review*, The Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002-4999. Telephone: 202-546-4400. Fax: 202-608-6136. E-mail: polrev@heritage.org. Internet site: http://www.heritage.org. Send permission requests to the Associate Publisher. Reproduction of editorial or graphic content without permission is prohibited.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION: Contact *Policy Review*, Subscriptions Dept., P.O. Box 638, Mt. Morris, Ill. 61054, or call toll-free 1-800-304-0056. Foreign subscribers call 815-734-5803. For address changes (allow six weeks), provide old and new address, including ZIP codes. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Policy Review*, Subscriptions Dept., P.O. Box 638, Mt. Morris, IL 61054. Subscription rates: one year, $27; two years, $54; three years, $81. Add $10 per year for foreign delivery. U.S.A. newsstand distribution by Eastern News, Inc., One Media Way, 12406 Rt. 250, Milan, Ohio 44846-9705. For newsstand inquiries, call 1-800-221-3148. Copyright © 1997 The Heritage Foundation. Printed in the United States of America.

The Heritage Foundation

Statement of Purpose

Our mission is to revive the spirit of American citizenship by recovering the core political principles of our Founding Fathers and by articulating and advancing the conservative vision of civil society.

Policy Review: The Journal of American Citizenship illuminates the families, communities, voluntary associations, churches and other religious organizations, business enterprises, public and private schools, and local governments that are solving problems more effectively than large, centralized, bureaucratic government. Our goal is to stimulate the citizenship movement—chronicling its success stories, exposing its obstacles and opportunities, and debating the policies that will best invigorate civil society.

American citizenship combines freedom with responsibility. These are the two great themes of modern conservatism, and they build on the best of the American tradition. Americans come from all races, all nationalities, all religions. Americans are united in citizenship not by common ancestry but by a common commitment to the political principles of the United States: the Constitution, the rule of law, the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

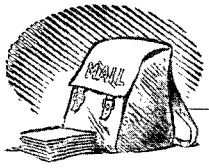
Americans are united, too, by the common duties of citizenship: the obligation to protect our country from foreign enemies, to take care of our own families, to participate actively in civic life, to help our neighbors and communities when they are needy, and, in turn, not to take advantage of others' generosity when we can take care of ourselves.

Policy Review: The Journal of American Citizenship is published by The Heritage Foundation, a research and educational institute that formulates and promotes conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense.

"There is no more important responsibility for the president than to say if you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence, that's all we need to know. You can be part of our America."

—Bill Clinton
Presidential Debate, October 16, 1996

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Correspondence

School Choice

To the Editor:

Nina Shokraii's outstanding article, "Free at Last: Black America Signs Up for School Choice" (November-December 1996), brings to mind black America's long tradition of private schools. Morehouse, Dillard, and Spelman universities and Hampton and Tuskegee institutes (to name a few) are all private. Indeed, between the late 1800s and the 1920s, blacks established more than 400 private elementary and secondary schools throughout America. One could even argue that it is private education, especially in the South, that has always produced many of the best black students in America.

John Sibley Butler
University of Texas
Austin, Tex.

Butler is the co-author of All That We Can Be: Black Leadership and Racial Integration the Army Way

To the Editor:

Nina Shokraii should be congratulated on her excellent school-choice article. As she shows, the dismal performance of American public schools has forced us to choose between continuing down the road of bureaucracy to ultimate failure or empowering individual families to educate their children.

How can we blame parents for educational failure when the government has for many years dictated the terms upon which education will be provided? How can we blame children when only a few cents of every education dollar is spent in the classroom?

Before it is too late, we must remove our children's education from suffocating government bureaucracy and return it to families. If implemented properly, school choice would reward the parents and students who take an interest in education and improve American education in the long run. Clearly the time has come for those who are concerned about our educational system to join forces and harness the power of "choice."

Armstrong Williams
Washington, D.C.

Williams is a nationally syndicated radio talk-show host.

To the Editor:

According to Douglas Dewey ("An Echo, Not a Choice," November-December 1996), we are all, it turns out, subtly tyrannized by the little red schoolhouse, and have been since its establishment (by Horace Mann, not Karl Marx) some 150 years ago. As a conservative case against vouchers, Dewey's brief has many odd echoes from standard liberal arguments. When Dewey brands vouchers as welfare, for instance, he appears to have adopted the "public money" concept, a staple of liberals' linguistic sleight-of-hand. Conservatives should know that "public money" first jingled in a taxpayer's pocket. When the people's representatives pass a law allowing parents to direct the portion that pays for their child's education to the school of their choice, we can call it many things—a voucher, a tax credit, a rebate, or refund—but not "welfare."

Dewey celebrates the growing number of privately financed school-choice programs popping up around the country. While I agree that each program is an oasis of hope in a desert of despair, the number of students served by these private programs underscores the limits of philanthropy. Dewey reports that the number of such programs has "ballooned" to 27 cities serving 10,000 students. These programs are no match for the $300 billion-a-year public-school Leviathan filling the tender minds of 45 million children and de-valuing the public culture.

Dewey seems concerned less with shaping culture than with fleeing to a kind of internal exile, far from the madding classroom—be it private or public. This is evident in the test Dewey constructs: Parents can only do right by their children when they "own the means to produce" (another phrase with an odd echo) their children's education. Dewey argues, "School choice may make you a chooser but it won't make you an owner," but neither will paying private-school tuition. In either case, parents are, in Dewey's phrase, "contracting out" their sacred duty to educate their children. Indeed, so strict is Dewey's test that only one form of schooling can pass it: home schooling. But home schooling is beyond the reach of many families. To home-school as a single parent, for instance, is to relegate oneself to welfare—the real kind.

True, private schools must be wary of government intrusion. But that's not a commentary on vouchers or even education as such; it's one more piece of evidence that government tends by its nature to encroach on individual rights—hardly a news flash to conservatives. That's an argument not so much *against* vouchers as *for* eternal vigilance on the part of citizens. In the battle for better schools, education vouchers are both a weapon and a remedy for millions of beleaguered parents.

Daniel McGroarty
Annandale, Va.

McGroarty is the author of Break These Chains: The Battle for School Choice.

To the Editor:

Conservative criticism of vouchers is often considered taboo, so we commend you for opening an honest debate by printing Douglas Dewey's critique. Feedback from our organization's constituents indicates that a growing number of conservatives share Dewey's concerns. Three decades of debate have pushed parental choice in education into the mainstream of ideas; now it's time to discriminate between mechanisms of choice.

Underlying Dewey's criticism of vouchers is an argument against any government role in education. While most Americans are not yet willing to concede his point, it is time to re-evaluate our assumptions about the state's role in education and the place of public education in our society. Whether or

Letters to the Editor

Policy Review: The Journal of American Citizenship welcomes letters to the editor. We reserve the right to edit correspondence for length, clarity, and civility. Write to:

Policy Review
214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

E-mail us at polrev@heritage.org, or visit *Policy Review's* World Wide Web site at http://www.heritage.org.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not Dewey's objectives are accomplished, his prodding will move us closer to the point where parents truly direct their children's education. Public education—like any other form of education—should reflect a deliberate choice by parents, not simply an assumption.

Legislatively, conservatives can advance private education by keeping it independent of public funding and beyond the reach of federal statutes. Per-child tax credits or tax rebates for tuition will also free family income for private education without compromising its freedom or religious integrity.

Conservatives will continue to pursue a variety of education reforms but they should observe some basic guidelines. First, while cleaning up public education we must not sully private education. Second, let's remove barriers to the exercise of parental responsibility.

Robert G. Morrison
Jennifer A. Marshall
Family Research Council
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

Douglas Dewey has long been an opponent of publicly funded education vouchers, but his arguments have not improved. Rather than joining the many leaders of privately funded scholarship programs—who view their efforts as just one step toward larger, publicly funded programs—Dewey's radical libertarian approach places him in the poor company of teachers unions and leftist opponents of school choice.

Both legally and in fact, vouchers are the property of parents and they do not represent direct aid to schools. The specter of government control of private schools through vouchers is a red herring, and it ignores the fact that state governments already have the legal right to control private schools to whatever extent they wish. By melding his arguments with a radical libertarian mindset and failing to recognize legal distinctions, Dewey comes to a very harmful conclusion.

Patrick J. Reilly
Citizens for Educational Freedom
Arlington, Va.

To the Editor:

Douglas Dewey argues that "private schools that accept vouchers will no longer be owned by parents, but by the state." Yet privately owned food stores that accept government food stamps have not become "government grocery markets." Nor have private hospitals that accept Medicare payments become "government hospitals." Likewise, when education vouchers become fully available, private schools need not assume that they will lose their autonomy and become "government schools."

As a result of competition created by vouchers, institutions and entrepreneurs will develop new schools, so parents will have even more educational choices for their children. Competition also assures that schools that fail—including government schools—will go out of business rather than gulp down taxpayer dollars.

As for Dewey's concern that voucher legislation "will inevitably be amended later," why is anticipated opposition justification for inaction? To date, the teachers unions' grassroots war has helped to defeat many statewide voucher proposals. While the war against parental choice and educational freedom continues, we cannot afford to wait for Dewey's "independence from government" utopia.

Charlene K. Haar
Education Policy Institute
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

Douglas Dewey seems to miss a fundamental point about education in America: As a nation, we accept that an educated citizenry is vital to the continuance of our form of government. Thus the relevant question is: Where will future generations of American citizens be educated and how will this education be funded?

The case for vouchers depends upon a full range of choices, from public schools to home schooling. Yes, the recent attempt to introduce choice in D.C. was fatally flawed, but better-written proposals—such as the school-choice bill before the New York state legislature—do not threaten micromanagement of participating schools. The point must be made that vouchers are a *first* step in real education reform, and that an ever vigilant community must keep the state within its proper bounds.

Timothy P. Mulhearn
United New Yorkers for Choice in Education
Hempstead, N.Y.

To the Editor:

I totally agree with Douglas Dewey on what will happen to private schools. As a parent who enrolled his children in private schools to get them away from "public indoctrination centers," I have severe reservations about vouchers. Sure, it would be nice to get some of that "school" tax back, but not with all the strings that are attached.

Wes Gordon
Tulsa, Okla.

The Heart of Homelessness

To the Editor:

The Rev. Stephen Burger ("Arise, Take Up Thy Mat, and Walk," September-October 1996) does a public service in getting to the heart of homelessness: There will be no lasting solution unless those who service the homeless learn to respect the dignity of these men and women by holding them responsible for their behavior while attending to their spiritual needs.

Government programs, built on materialistic assumptions, not only don't work, they contribute ineluctably to the problem by underwriting the conditions that cause despair. By contracting with churches, government can provide for better services at less cost. One caveat: Not one dime should be accepted by any church if it means yielding autonomy to the feds.

William A. Donohue
Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights
New York, N.Y.

To the Editor:

The Rev. Stephen Burger cites spiritual renewal, responsible behavior, and positive relationships as the bedrock principles of the International Union of Gospel Missions (IUGM). These have also been integral in our 12 years of serving homeless adults and families. But we would raise questions about the narrowness of IUGM's path toward spiritual transformation. Is Jesus Christ the only spiritual solution to homelessness? What about the certainty of IUGM's "success" rates? For how long do more than 50 percent and as high as 80 percent of their graduates "remain addiction-free, employed, and connected to family and friends"? How does IUGM track this information? And is there not some proper role for government assistance?

From the questions we raise per-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

haps it is clear that theological and political conservatism is not a prerequisite for alternative and nontraditional approaches to providing homeless resources. At CPM, we hope to be a laboratory of civic renewal where all citizens, humbled by the impotency of traditional programs, will join with us in imaginative and sometimes stumbling attempts to connect homeless people to themselves and to community.

The Rev. David L. Myers
Center for Public Ministry
Evanston, Ill.

Saving the Family

To the Editor:

In "Can Government Save the Family?" (September-October 1996), all the contributors outlined how government can *help*. But can government *save* the family? We agree: No. Yet individuals, as husbands, wives, parents, and children, can save the family if they choose a certain course of action.

Keeping an even disposition when confronting a temper-tossed toddler for the fifth time in two hours means controlling one's temper. Spending uncomfortable time building a relationship with an alienated teenager is frustrating and exhausting. Remaining faithful to a marriage vow in the face of temptation involves self-denial. Going without some—or many—material comforts so that mom can stay home with the children requires continuous sacrifices.

Our culture teaches us that we have a right to all the pleasure we want. And the welfare system is premised on the belief that no one should ever experience the consequences of making a bad choice.

Yet to save our civilization, by saving our families, individuals must be willing constantly to deny themselves enjoyment, pleasure, and gratification. We must be willing to suffer joyfully. Are we up to the challenge?

Connie Marshner
Front Royal, Va.

To the Editor:

Although many of the myriad steps government could take to repair the family have merit, the old "family wage" advocated by Dan Quayle and Paul Weyrich should not be exhumed from its fetid grave.

Wages and salaries are ideally based on productivity, value to the employer, and the like. To award more money to someone solely because he/she has kids sounds suspiciously like "to each according to his needs"—the back end of the equation of Marxism. Would employers be forced to consider family status and size in deciding whom to hire, promote, or lay off—in other words, a new type of affirmative action? Perhaps the authors forget, we have long had a system where the head of a household gets a raise with each new child; it's called welfare.

Kay James hit the nail on the head. Social engineering from the right is just as evil as that from the left.

David Haines
Leesburg, Fla.

To the Editor:

One of the best ways to strengthen families is to let them keep the money they earn. It is essential, moreover, that the federal government stay within its prescribed constitutional boundaries.

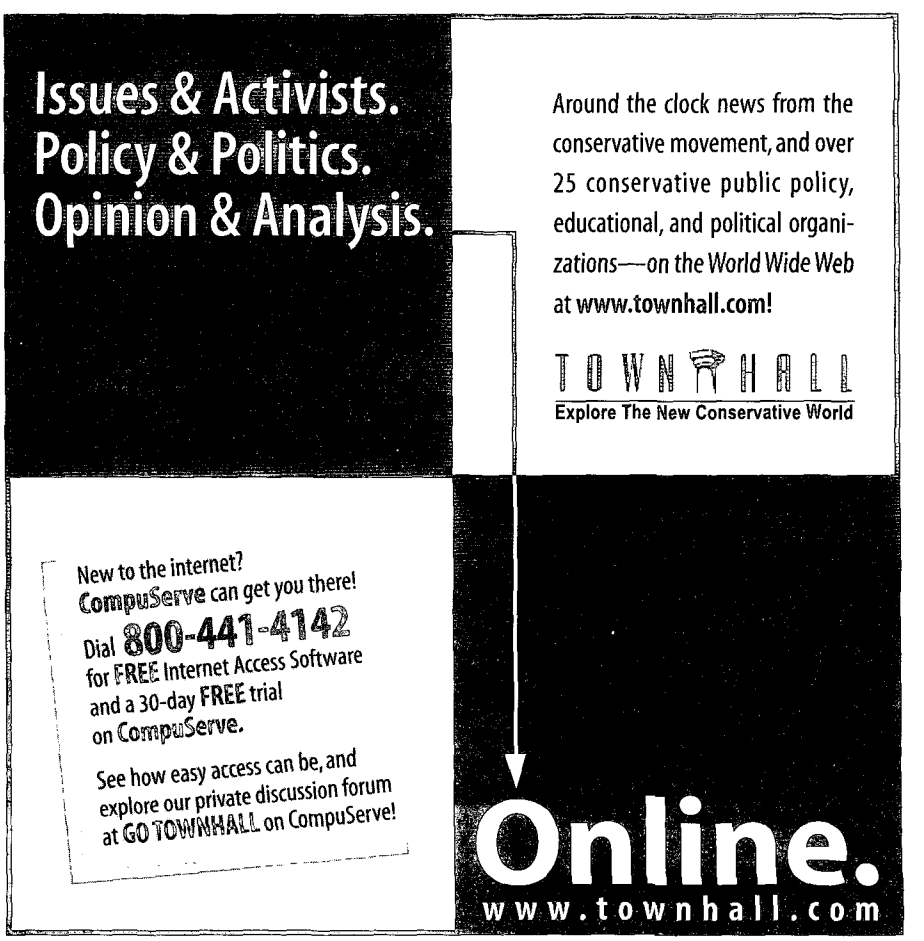
Raising taxes for any other purpose than "to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general welfare" is unconstitutional. Government can never be an instrument of salvation, but it can, and it has, become a force for the moral degradation of the nation. That can and must be changed. Parental authority has been usurped by civil government.

There should be no more socially destructive subsidies to the National Endowment for the Arts, the Legal Services Corporation, Planned Parenthood, the U.S. Department of Education, and the homosexual movement, to mention but a few of the inappropriate and unconstitutional beneficiaries of tax dollars during recent decades of Democrat and Republican rule.

Howard Phillips
Vienna, Va.

Phillips was the 1996 presidential nominee of the U.S. Taxpayers Party.

Correction: Due to an editing error, two quotes in "Free at Last" by Nina Shokraii (November-December 1996) were misattributed. Freya Rivers and Lydia Harris were interviewed by the *Wall Street Journal* and *World* magazine, respectively; they did not write the articles in question.


Issues & Activists.
Policy & Politics.
Opinion & Analysis.
Around the clock news from the conservative movement, and over 25 conservative public policy, educational, and political organizations—on the World Wide Web at www.townhall.com!
TOWNHALL
Explore The New Conservative World
New to the internet?
CompuServe can get you there!
Dial 800-441-4142
for FREE Internet Access Software
and a 30-day FREE trial
on CompuServe.
See how easy access can be, and explore our private discussion forum at GO TOWNHALL on CompuServe!
Online.
www.townhall.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brain Food for Conservatives

"An exciting new magazine...sparkling, truly zippy...a high-powered wow."
—*The Washington Times*

"...just a thrill. I can't believe how much good stuff you've gathered together."
—John Stossel, ABC News 20/20

"Extremely well done." —Milton Friedman

"I actually read nearly all the pages, which I only do with a handful of magazines."
—Gregg Easterbrook, *Newsweek*

"...absolutely splendid. So alive." —*Reader's Digest*

"...Intellectually aggressive..." —*The Washington Post*

"America's finest magazine of culture, politics and economics..." —*Seattle Times*

Find out what they're buzzing about...Free.

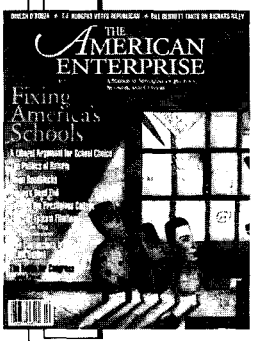
Active, influential people don't have time to dig through truckloads of weekly newsmagazines and political journals. Yet they know that keeping well-informed is critical to keeping up. What they need is an intelligent, one-stop source that brings them news and interesting analysis of today's most important political, economic and social trends.

Welcome to ***The American Enterprise***, the most invigorating journal of thought and opinion in America today.

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

We feature lively writing on serious topics from writers like William Bennett, George Gilder, Michael Medved, Barbara Dafoe Whitehead, Dinesh D'Souza, Fred Barnes, Christina Hoff Sommers, Charles Murray, Irving Kristol, Marvin Olasky, Ben Stein, Florence King, Thomas Sowell, Mickey Kaus, Michael Barone, Stanley Crouch, Eugene Genovese, Alan Keyes, and Paul Johnson. Concise, enjoyable-to-read information on the direction of American society.

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE OF POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE



Complete this form and we'll send you a free issue of *The American Enterprise*.

If you like what you see, you can subscribe at a special introductory rate.

In any case, the free sample is yours to keep, with no obligation.

Feed your mind something exciting today.

Send me a **FREE** issue at no obligation.

Name .....

Address .....

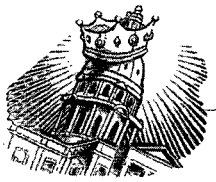
City .....

State/Zip .....

Clip and mail to ***The American Enterprise***, P.O. Box 2013, Marion, OH 43306-2013
or call 614-375-2323 or fax 614-382-5866

SAJ7PR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Abuses and Usurpations

Doctor, Can I Have This Agency Removed?

Six years ago, during the buildup to the Persian Gulf War, the deployment of military medical personnel threatened to create shortages of medical professionals in some parts of the country. No problem: the U.S. Government was, at least in theory, ready. This was precisely the sort of situation for which the Commissioned Corps of the Public Health Service—a federally funded corps of medical shock troops—was created.

In fact, the agency had signed a memorandum of understanding with the Department of Defense in 1988 for just such a contingency. It explicitly stated that Corps members could be called upon to relieve shortages caused by military deployments in wartime.

So when duty and country called, what did these highly paid, generously pensioned medical personnel do while other doctors and nurses mobilized for the front lines? They marched before Congress to demand that the Corps not be deployed. The Department of Defense, the Corps contended, should exhaust all possible options—including recruiting civilian volunteers—before asking the Corps to serve. And so the call-up never came.

Mission Implausible

Like the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines, the Commissioned Corps is a uniformed service of the United States. But unlike the armed services, the members of the PHSCC are not soldiers but doctors, nurses, even dietitians and veterinarians. Originally designed to provide the nation with a mobile, readily deployable cadre of medical personnel, over the years the PHSCC has drifted far from its mission. Today, no one is sure what it's supposed to do, but there is growing agreement on this: What it does, it does too expensively, and probably shouldn't be doing at all.

Remember James Felsen, the Styrofoam cup bureaucrat? A Commissioned Corps officer, Felsen was made infamous last summer by the *Washington Post* as a bureaucrat paid $117,000 a year to pass the time reading newspapers, telephoning friends, and constructing an arch of used Styrofoam coffee cups in his office at the National Institutes of Health (NIH). By his own reckoning, he did "virtually nothing"—and got an annual $15,000 "valuable employee" retention bonus in return.

If the glare of the media spotlight has been unwelcome for Felsen, it has been doubly so for his boss—the Surgeon General of the United States. The Surgeon General is the highest-ranking and most prominent member of the Corps. Although the office has remained vacant for more than a year and a half, little attention has been paid to the 200-year-old, $600-million-a-year program over which he presides.

The Commissioned Corps traces its roots to 1789 and the federal government's first entry into the field of health care under President John Adams. Adams created a series of government-funded hospitals to care for merchant seaman who showed up, broke and sick with scurvy, in strange ports. The Marine Hospital Service later broadened its mission and became the Public Health Service (PHS). In 1889, Congress created the Commissioned Corps as a mobile cadre of medical professionals within the PHS with military rank, pay, allowances, and benefits.

The Corps justified its quasi-military status—and benefits—on the grounds that it would go anywhere and do anything to respond to medical emergencies. And through the end of World War II, the Corps fulfilled its mission. It battled smallpox, typhus, and yellow fever outbreaks at the turn of the century and served alongside the armed services in both world wars.

But the history of the Corps since the New Deal is considerably less heroic, recorded in the rapidly proliferating acronyms of an expanding health-care bureaucracy. Today its 6,276 members are significantly less mobile, "seeded" throughout the federal government—at NIH, the Indian Health Service, the Centers for Disease Control, even the Environmental Protection Agency—and are virtually indistinguishable from the 40,000 civilian Public Health Service employees with whom they work.

Our uniformed corps of medical personnel is costly, unnecessary—and reluctant to serve its country.

Dollars for Doctors

Virtually indistinguishable, that is, but for one thing: they are more expensive. The General Accounting Office (GAO) has found that the taxpayers could save as much as $130 million a year—or 22 percent of the program's cost—by replacing it with civilians. Although the wage disparity between Corps members and PHS civilians has varied over the years, the difference in salary can be as high as $10,000 to $30,000. Corps members also qualify for a host of military and veterans' benefits, and they and their dependents receive free health care. After 30 years, they can retire at 75 percent of their base pay.

All of which might be justified if the Corps were providing a unique and valuable service. In fact, the GAO has found that civilians could easily replace Corps members without causing a ripple in the flow of public health services. The PHS already has more than 19,000 civilians performing the same duties as Corps officers. Officials at three government agencies that together employ more than 1,000 Corps members told the GAO that civilians could

By Jessica Gavora

Jessica Gavora is the editor of Philanthropy, *the quarterly journal of the Philanthropy Roundtable.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

replace Corps members in every case.

The story of why they have not is a case study in bureaucratic survival techniques. The Corps has burrowed deep into the federal bureaucracy, keeping its profile low and its costs hidden in the federal budget. In short, it owes its existence to the same combination of public ignorance and bureaucratic self-interest that allowed James Felsen to

The Commissioned Corps has burrowed deep into the federal bureaucracy, keeping its profile low and its costs hidden.

spend three years building a polystyrene bridge to nowhere in his office in the suburbs of Washington.

Like other programs that have outlived their missions, the PHSCC benefits from its anonymity. Unlike most federal programs, there is no line in the budget that shows how much is appropriated each year for the Commissioned Corps. Each agency that hosts Corps members finds money in its own budget to pay their salaries. But they are still a bargain, because the individual agencies do not pick up the retirement costs of Corps members—resulting in an unfunded pension liability of almost $4 billion in 1994.

No Accountability

The real secret to the longevity of the PHSCC, however, is its refusal to establish standards by which taxpayers can judge its performance. Despite its origins in the pomp and circumstance of the military—with uniforms and insignia all its own—the contemporary Corps has refused to allow itself to be defined by anything more than the basket of benefits that its member "officers" enjoy.

C. Everett Koop, the Surgeon General under President Reagan, came into office determined to restore some of the faded military luster of the Commissioned Corps. But when Koop suggested in 1987 that Corps members wear their uniforms more often, howls of protest went up at the federal health agencies, particularly the NIH. Some PHSCC physicians, it turns out, had joined the Corps during the Vietnam War as an alternative to military service. By the 1980s, they occupied senior research positions at the NIH and made it clear to Koop that they regarded their Corps uniforms as a "routinized expression of loyalty" that would stifle their creativity. "I regard this as an academic institution," an NIH laboratory chief told *Science* magazine. "Uniforms create a distinction that is detrimental and divisive." Sniffed another NIH physician, "I am not here because of the Corps, but in spite of it." Dissent was so great that Koop eventually backed down.

And so it has fallen to James Felsen to push this elusive federal program back into the sunshine of public review. What happens next is anybody's guess, but the omens are not good. After the *Post* blew the whistle on Felsen, the government convened a retirement board to see if he could be forced out of public service. It determined he couldn't, and so he was given a new job at the CDC. He expects to receive his old salary and carry the title "senior program management officer consultant."

24th Annual Pulliam 1997

Pulliam Journalism Fellowships

Recent college graduates are invited to apply for the 24th annual Pulliam Journalism Fellowships. We will be granting 10-week summer internships to 20 journalism or liberal arts graduates in the August 1996-June 1997 graduating classes.

Previous part-time or summer newspaper experience is desired, or other demonstration of writing and reporting ability. Those who go through the Fellowship often find new professional opportunities opening up at other newspapers during and after the program. Winners will receive a $4,725 stipend and will work at either The Indianapolis Star and The Indianapolis News or The Arizona Republic and The Phoenix Gazette. Opportunities for on-line training are available, along with reporting experience at our major metropolitan daily newspapers. Application postmark deadline is March 1, 1997.

To request an application and related materials, write:

Russell B. Pulliam
Pulliam Fellowship Director
The Indianapolis News
P.O. Box 145
Indianapolis, IN 46206-0145

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Who Needs the SBA?

Speaking at the White House Conference on Small Business in 1995, President Clinton praised the "leaner, more invigorated, more committed" Small Business Administration (SBA). The loan-guarantee program of this small federal agency, he said, is the best way to get venture capital into the hands of America's entrepreneurs. Nine months later, the SBA followed up with a report identifying the most "small-business-friendly" banks in the country. Among the nation's very best: First Capitol, in York, Pennsylvania. But a close look at First Capitol doesn't reveal how the federal government builds what Clinton called tomorrow's Intel, Apple, and FedEx. Instead it shows how banks can boost small businesses better *without* government help.

First Capitol Bank builds small businesses on character, trust—and a good feel for fruit.

With three branches in central Pennsylvania, First Capitol has lent more than $50 million to local small businesses—15 percent of which are headed by women or minorities. Its loan default rate is a meager 1.5 percent. By contrast, the default rate on SBA loans in the area is 6.2 percent, and its default rate nationwide is even higher.

First Capitol's clients include high-tech startups, construction companies, retail franchises, and mom-and-pop grocers. Its loan officers write business plans for their clients and meet with the entrepreneurs monthly, if not weekly. All this made First Capitol the fastest-growing bank in the region, boosting assets 16-fold from $5 million to more than $90 million in just eight years.

Most remarkable, First Capitol refuses to get the SBA or any government agency to guarantee its loans. "Why should we?" asks Tom Capello, First Capitol's president. "We pick winners."

Since First Capitol was founded in 1988 with only a card table and a telephone in shared office space, it has specialized in loans to small businesses. Other banks had written off York as a Rust Belt city doomed to sputter as the local Caterpillar tractor factory laid off workers. So depressed were regional expectations that no new bank had opened in York in nearly 60 years. First Capitol's founders saw the changing labor market as an opportunity to make money investing in startups.

Character as Asset

Ever since Thom Anstadt was in grade school, he had worked in his family's downtown printing shop. Eventually he and his uncle took over the company. When desktop publishing transformed the industry in the late 1980s, Anstadt proposed that the firm seek a niche in high-quality color printing. His uncle balked at the change, so Anstadt quit the business to start Colorgraphics, Inc.

"Most banks are allergic to start-ups," Anstadt says. "We had nothing. No equipment. Just an idea." He drafted a proposal and visited countless banks. According to Anstadt's own proposal, Colorgraphics would lose money for at least one and a half years because of its high start-up costs. Most scoffed. It was a loan, some bankers said, that the SBA would never guarantee.

But First Capitol did. The now-profitable printing firm has 22 employees and $2 million in yearly revenues. It has not only met every loan payment, but it has borrowed three additional times to expand.

Anstadt's story is typical of First Capitol. York, according to a top city official, is having "a small-business renaissance because of that bank." How does First Capitol do it? By counting on character.

Unlike other banks, First Capitol doesn't get Washington to guarantee its loans. At other banks, if the small business fails, most of the lost money is reimbursed by the government. These banks make money just by making loans. First Capitol only makes money if the startups succeed. And First Capitol has found that the best way to predict a business's prospects is to evaluate the owner's honor. While his competitors talk about the "two C's" of lending (credit and collateral), Capello has added another: "character."

To this end, Tom Sauer, the bank's chief loan officer, personally reviews each application. He and his staff spend hours talking with applicants about their businesses. He even meets with their families to make sure they'll have the necessary emotional support.

Most important, Sauer was not trained as a banker. Before coming to First Capitol, he had managed a local munitions factory. Although Sauer modestly says that means he "won't bump into the machines" when he tours businesses, it also means he understands them. "The other [banks] I applied to just looked at my numbers," says a local grocer who got a loan from First Capitol. "That doesn't tell them much. [Sauer] would smell the fruit to make sure it was fresh. He walked the aisles. He knows what I'm about."

Ultimately, each loan applicant also meets with Capello. First Capitol has found that letting even the smallest applicants meet with the bank's president strengthens their commitment to meeting the payments.

It works. Since March 1994, more than three-fourths of the bank's loans have gone to small businesses. In that same period, the bank's stock has risen

by Stephen Glass

Stephen Glass is an assistant editor at the New Republic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is upward: Profits in the third quarter of 1996 were the best ever—48 percent better than 1995. First Capitol thrives, not in spite of their SBA-free policy, but because of it. The rigidity and bureaucracy of the SBA's textbook loans may invite failure. For entrepreneurs like Patricia Cumor, failures cost jobs.

A Nimble Response

Six years ago, Cumor's company, First Capitol Insulation, needed a credit line. (Many local businesses are named "First Capitol" because York was the home of the Continental Congress.) As prices for labor and raw materials soared, she couldn't bill homebuilders for projects until they were completed—a lag of four months or so.

Cumor called several of the region's biggest banks. Although her stellar credit history and client list virtually ensured repayment, the SBA couldn't accommodate her unorthodox loan. The banks rejected her application. She made plans to close her business, laying off two dozen employees. Somehow she heard of First Capitol Bank, which—unrestricted by SBA guidelines—extended her the credit. Cumor's company now employs 40 people.

Similarly, First Capitol supplied the seed money for a family-owned stationery store. Although profitable, its business is seasonal. Capello allows the stationer to skip payments during the summer and pay more in the busier winter. The SBA would have closed the store down after a few missed installments. "What we do is good business," explains Capello.

The government's inflexibility is also reflected in the paperwork its loans require. If Cumor had secured an SBA loan, she would have spent days filling out more than 100 pages of forms. Once First Capitol approves a loan, the process takes minutes. In fact, one way that Capello keeps interest rates low (usually about 1 point over prime) is by cutting bureaucracy. He estimates that he would have to increase his loan staff by nearly 50 percent to handle all the government paperwork.

SBA loans also hamper small-business expansion. For most of his life, Bill Crone has collected rare coins. He bought a small, profitable coin shop from his father, but changing tastes and the popularity of baseball cards have eroded the industry. Collectible coins and coin-boards (a gambling device legal in most states for use by charities), on the other hand, were becoming more popular. So, Crone opened the First Capitol Mint to make gold and silver collectibles wholesale.

When Crone secured the rights to stamp famous coins like one honoring baseball hero Cal Ripken, the mint took off. Within weeks he had eight distributors. Weeks after that he had 15, then 22, including some in neighboring states. Every time he adds a distributor, Crone secures credit from First Capitol to buy the gold and silver.

Why not the SBA? It's too slow. Small businesses like Crone's can't compete if they have to rely on government. Under the SBA system, securing approval for each distributor might take up to two months. Crone says if it took that long, he'd lose the account. "If that were the case, I'd never have opened up," he adds. The loan-approval board of First Capitol, on the other hand, meets weekly, so applications are always approved within a few days. For one important account, Crone was even able to get approval within 72 hours. For First Capitol, prompt service is not just a nice touch, it's vital. Better service, Capello says, boosts profits by giving the bank a competitive edge.

Good for Minorities

Likewise, First Capitol proves skeptics wrong when they say the private sector will leave women and minorities behind. Businesses owned by members of these groups account for about 15 percent of the bank's loan portfolio—7 points higher than SBA-backed banks in the region. To Capello, it just makes good business sense. "These are the fastest growing areas of the market," he says. "We want to be in on them."

First Capitol's loans are also more likely to succeed. The bank's flexibility and emphasis on character rather than business experience pays off. In his free time, Capello sits on a local nonprofit lending organization that makes direct loans to minority-owned small businesses. Of the last 12 businesses that received loans, 11 have failed. At First Capitol, on the other hand, minority- and women-owned businesses fail at the same rate as those owned by white men. Even President Clinton has conceded that the SBA was holding small business back. Small businesses, he said, needed less paperwork and regulation to thrive. He's describing the private sector.

IEA

Free Banking in Britain
Theory, Experience & Debate 1800-1845

LAWRENCE H. WHITE

In this second revised and expanded edition of his classic Professor White examines the theory and practice of privately issued currency, which in the age of 'smartcard' cash balances has taken on a new relevance.

The text of the book has been significantly revised and expanded since the first edition appeared in 1984, and includes a detailed reply by the author to his critics in a wholly new chapter.

The book costs $14.95 (inc P&P) and can be ordered from the IEA by creditcard or by check.

IEA
2 Lord North Street
London SW1P 3LB
England.

Tel: +44 (0)171 799 3745
Fax: +44 (0)171 799 2137
E-Mail: iea@iea.org.uk
Web Site:
http://www.iea.org.uk

The IEA is a Registered Charity No: 235 351

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Laboratories of Democracy

How Conservatism Played in Peoria

At first glance, the results of the 1996 elections seem to be a setback for conservatives at the state level. No new conservatives were elected to governors' offices except in West Virginia, Republicans no longer rule the majority of state legislatures nationwide, and some key ballot initiatives important to conservatives were rejected.

But a closer look at the returns reveals that voters remain strongly disposed to smaller government, traditional values, and personal freedom. Conservatives might have expected worse, considering Senator Dole's loss at the top of the ticket, copious propaganda against Republican candidates by the labor unions, and relentless criticism of "extremist" GOP policies.

Governors

Prior to Election Day, Republican governors outnumbered Democrats, 32 to 17. Although 11 gubernatorial races were decided in November, the partisan breakdown was unchanged. Hence the GOP consolidated its gains of the previous two years, when the party added 14 governorships to the 18 it had already held. In November, the two parties effectively swapped control of the statehouses in New Hampshire and West Virginia, which are ordinarily electoral strongholds for the GOP and the Democratic Party, respectively. Both races offer interesting messages for the conservative movement.

Seventy-three-year-old conservative Republican Cecil Underwood, who first served as governor of West Virginia in 1957 at the age of 34, defeated Democrat Charlotte Pritt to win his old job back. Pritt had alienated her own party establishment in 1992 when she challenged incumbent Democratic governor Gaston Caperton, so Underwood's victory is something of a fluke. But having run on a platform of smaller government, he will have four years to test conservative ideas in a very Democratic state.

Republicans are still smarting from losing New Hampshire's governorship, but this should not be viewed as a total loss. The national media has speculated

If you think 1996 was a bad year for conservatives in state races, it could have been much worse.

that the Granite State is going soft on conservatism, but liberal Democratic state representative Jeanne Shaheen trounced Republican Ovide Lamontagne only after pledging never to support a state income tax, suggesting that fiscal conservatism is still a prerequisite for high office in New Hampshire.

Joe McQuaid, the general manager of the *Manchester Union Leader,* thinks the media's assumptions about his state's political leanings are off-base. "In my memory, New Hampshire has never been a socially conservative state. . . . It's sort of a libertarian state," McQuaid explains. Some Republicans grumble that Lamontagne, an unabashed pro-lifer, was too controversial for a relatively pro-choice state. But, counters McQuaid, "I don't think he's too conservative at all. . . . Shaheen got out of the box early and painted LaMontagne as a one-issue extremist, which he's not."

In Washington state, Republican state senator Ellen Craswell, a religious conservative outspoken about the intersection of faith and politics, lost to Democrat Gary Locke, a proponent of abortion rights and same-sex marriages. As the son of Chinese immigrants and as a candidate less liberal than his primary opponent, Locke's candidacy generated much excitement and media attention. On the other hand, many voters were turned off by Craswell's repeated references to the Bible as the basis for the state constitution and to the "godly people" she would employ in her administration.

Craswell's defeat prompts the question: Should conservatives mask their religious foundations to win elections? Most Republican analysts say no, but it is important to remember that a news media removed from ordinary Americans' experience with religion will try to make a religious conservative's comments sound as exclusionary as possible.

In Indiana, Indianapolis mayor and privatization proponent Steven Goldsmith lost his bid to replace the outgoing governor, Democrat Evan Bayh. But Goldsmith's opponent, lieutenant governor Frank O'Bannon, surged and overtook Goldsmith on Election Day. A rejection of privatization? Unlikely. Goldsmith's six-point loss makes more sense when one considers that O'Bannon was able to capitalize on the enormous popularity of Bayh, a New Democrat with some conservative leanings.

State Legislatures

Republicans have recently begun counting on the control of state legislatures to enact a conservative agenda. Last year, the GOP was poised to pick up another seven legislative chambers across the country to add to their dramatic gains in the 1994 elections. Instead they won only three: the Iowa and Washington senates and, for the first time since Reconstruction, the Florida house. Record-low voter turnout is blamed for a seemingly dismal post-election picture for conservatives. Laments one GOP campaign analyst, "Democrats came home and Republicans stayed home."

Republicans need to put their dis-

by Bernadette Malone

Bernadette Malone is a national political reporter for Evans & Novak, *and a former staff member in the New York state senate.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

appointment in perspective. Nowhere in the country did Republicans lose more than nine seats in any given chamber, except for the New Hampshire house, where a loss of 33 seats leaves them with a paltry 253-145 majority. In 1994, Republicans picked up 18 legislative chambers to wind up with control of 50 of 99 chambers across the country (Nebraska has a unicameral legislature). The media attributed the 1994 Republican rout in legislative races to unusually low Democratic turnout. But in 1996, when Republican turnout was severely depressed by lack of enthusiasm for the presidential race, Democrats gained back only seven chambers.

The Republican losses of the lower chambers in Illinois and California are clear examples of what happens when the top of the ticket writes off a state early in the campaign. Many Californian conservatives campaigned on the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI), and blame Dole's courtship of General Colin Powell, an affirmative-action supporter and potential running mate, for destroying party unity on the issue.

In Illinois and in Michigan, where Republicans also lost the state house, labor-union money was decisive in many legislative races. Incited by the GOP-led repeal of Illinois's pro-labor Scaffold Act this session, the unions rallied to the side of many Democratic legislative candidates, giving them a two-seat edge over Republicans.

But Tom Roeser, a commentator on Illinois politics and the publisher of a political newsletter, thinks the Democrats seized the assembly in part because Republican Lee Daniels, the Speaker of the Illinois house, abandoned half of the coalition that buoyed Republicans in 1994. "He was very loyal to the business people, but he did absolutely nothing for the pro-family groups," Roeser says.

Mike Madigan, the Democratic leader in the house, successfully sought the support of pro-life voters and paved the way for the election of conservative Democratic candidates. "The [state] house of representatives is generally in better shape now, at least in terms of family issues," says Roeser.

Republicans also ceded control of the Tennessee senate and the Nevada house. In Nevada, the house was tied until Democrats picked up four seats, and Tennessee's senate, where Democrats gained two seats this year, had only become Republican through party switching after the 1994 election. The Southern Democrats elected in Tennessee and in North Carolina—where Republicans failed to capture the senate—are characteristically Southern conservatives.

Another way of viewing the results: Usually, the party of the president-elect brings hundreds of state legislative candidates into power with him. Nationwide, Democrats won a net increase of 42 seats, less than 1 percent of all state legislative seats. Compare this to the 542 seats gained by Republicans in 1994—most of which they still hold.

Initiatives

Racial preferences. By far the most important initiative on the ballot last November was the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI). Up until Election Day, its most diehard backers were worried it would fail. Polls indicated that support for the initiative dropped from 2 to 1 in favor at the beginning of the summer to a margin of just 5 percentage points by late October. Ultimately 55 percent of California voters chose to rid the state's public institutions of race and gender preferences. If CCRI survives a challenge in federal court, expect it to spread like wildfire across the country.

Parental rights. The Colorado Parental Rights Amendment would have added to the state constitution an inalienable right of parents to "direct and control the upbringing, education, values, and discipline of their children." It failed, 57 percent to 43 percent. Ken Mulligan, a policy analyst at the Free Congress Foundation, in Washington, D.C., speculates that the amendment failed because "the supporters of this amendment didn't protect themselves from what they knew would be the biggest attack on it—that is, the question: 'What about child abuse?' " Even former U.S. senator Bill Armstrong, a religious conservative, opposed the Parental Rights Amendment for this reason.

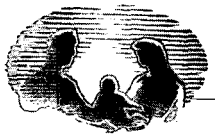
Education. The election disappointed school-choice advocates, as well. Proposals for vouchers and charter schools failed by 2 to 1 margins in Washington. There is some criticism from conservatives that the initiatives failed because of poor planning and a bare-bones campaign. School-choice activist Clint Bolick, the vice president and director of litigation at the Institute for Justice, thinks Washington's constitution is so hostile to school vouchers that the initiatives almost weren't worth the fight. "This was definitely not a movement-inspired effort," says Bolick.

Term limits. Term-limits initiatives were moderately successful, although conservatives are divided on the issue. Thanks to a 1995 Supreme Court decision that invalidated all the initiatives limiting the terms of federal officeholders, the movement is seeking to amend the U.S. Constitution. Hence it is starting over with new initiatives that require elected officials to press for a constitutional convention to pass an amendment. The initiatives would stigmatize those officials who refuse to do so by publishing their position on future ballots. Proposals for term limits for state and federal officials were on the ballot in 14 states and passed in nine: Alaska, Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Maine, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, and South Dakota. Groups like the John Birch Society, the National Rifle Association, and the Eagle Forum, however, see a constitutional convention as a Pandora's box, and opposed the term-limits movement this election cycle.

Gambling. Initiatives to legalize gambling failed in all the states where they were on the ballot with the exception of Michigan. Voters there approved, by 51 percent to 49 percent, a measure to allow gambling in Detroit. The gambling issue hurt the conservative cause in Louisiana, where the very conservative Republican Woody Jenkins was narrowly defeated in the U.S. Senate race by former state treasurer Mary Landrieu. Her alliance with the gaming industry helped her turn out many voters in New Orleans.

Taxes. A big winner among initiatives this year was the tax "supermajority," which requires the approval of (in most cases) two-thirds of the state legislature to pass new taxes or tax increases. On the ballot in three states (Florida, Nevada, and South Dakota), these initiatives passed with overwhelming support, bringing the number of states with supermajorities up to 13. In these states, taxes grew 20 percent slower than in other states since their supermajority laws was passed, according to Kolt Zimmerman Jones, of Americans for Tax Reform.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"No Child Is Unadoptable"

by Charmaine Crouse Yoest

Charmaine Crouse Yoest is a contributing editor of Policy Review: The Journal of American Citizenship *and the co-author of* Mother in the Middle: Searching for Peace in the Mommy Wars *(HarperCollins/Zondervan).*

Liberalism, the self-styled defender of children, harbors a myth that dehumanizes and threatens countless children every day. It is a myth embodied in a bureaucratic label: "unadoptable." It is the assumption that, because some children are not wanted by their biological parents, they are wanted by no one.

This myth fuels the tragedy of abortion. According to the Alan Guttmacher Institute, at least 13 percent of all women choosing abortion do so because they believe their unborn child suffers from some mental or physical disability. So who would want them?

This myth undermines an already troubled foster-care system, where thousands of children are officially classified "unadoptable" by their caseworkers. Children acquire this label for many reasons—because of emotional problems, physical handicaps, or the color of their skin. In part because of this tag, 15,000 kids turn 18 each year while still in foster care.

Across the country, however, there are countless men and women disproving the unadoptable label every day. "There is a home for every child who is out there," says Brit Eaton, the executive director of an organization called Adopt a Special Kid (AASK) Midwest. Eaton's organization, which uses the Internet to match foster children with willing families, is one of a growing number of private organizations finding permanent homes for so-called special-needs kids—older children, sibling groups, the severely disabled, the emotionally damaged, or those with life-threatening diseases.

They are kids like Michael. He has the impish smile of an 11-year-old who does not like spinach. A profile of him available on the group's Internet Web site says that he was born with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome, that he is a fifth-grader with attention-deficit disorder who doesn't read terribly well, and that he lives in foster care and needs a family "to provide him with the reassurance that he is loved and needed."

Michael is followed by other faces and names—Joe, Elliot, Rachel, Sherita—all looking for a permanent home. Sherita, for example, loves to play dress-up and is wearing a party dress in her picture. Her little brother Antwan sports a bow tie. They clutch each other's hand tightly. Both were exposed prenatally to crack cocaine and then neglected after birth; Sherita was sexually abused.

Adopting the Net

Working with county social-service agencies across the country, AASK Midwest gathers information on foster children for whom the public agency hasn't found a home and enters the data into its database. Michael, Sherita, and the others are just a few of the kids listed on AASK's Web site (http://www.aask.org). Says Eaton,

While government bureaucrats give up on tough-to-place kids, private agencies are finding them permanent, loving homes.

"Some of these kids know this is their only chance to find a family."

Conducting the search nationwide increases the chance of finding a suitable family. AASK recruits families from all across the country to match with waiting children: It now has 973 children and 1,032 families in its database. It averages 100 assisted placements a year; since its founding 12 years ago, it has matched more than 1,200 families.

The "Telemagic" software system AASK uses to match kids with families gives the group 21st-century tools, but its greatest strength is human, not technological: Twenty-two families in 14 states across the country serve as volunteer recruiters. All the AASK field representatives have adopted special-needs children, and many have adopted more than 10; 95 percent of them have adopted transracially.

This personal involvement accounts for the agency's success. Field representatives are passionate about adoption, and they know what it takes to adopt a special-needs child successfully. Working in the field with prospective adoptive families, these volunteers provide both screening before the adoption and support afterwards.

Such commitment permeates the organization. That's why AASK succeeds in finding homes for children when the public agencies fail, says Eaton. Many county workers still believe that special-needs children are unadoptable. Others are simply too swamped to spend the time looking for appropriate families for the children. "They are overloaded," says Eaton. "The social worker will tend to forget about the child if they are in an adequate foster-care situation."

It costs AASK $2,500 on average to find a match for each child. In addition to its computer database, AASK maintains a Web site with pictures and biographical sketches of 20 waiting children. The list of children is changed monthly. The site is interactive and interested families can fill out an application on-line. AASK charges no fees for its services to adoptive families.

AASK Midwest was established by Richard Ransom, the founder of Hickory Farms, a food company, after he met Bob and Dorothy DeBolt, who started the flagship organization in Califor-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nia. The DeBolts themselves have adopted 20 special-needs children.

"There are so many success stories; there's just a magic that happens in this business," Eaton says. "When a child wouldn't otherwise have any hope, finding them a placement is like scoring a home run."

Patrick is one of those out-of-the-ballpark hits. Born drug dependent, he was completely nonverbal when he was adopted at three years old. A picture arrived on Eaton's desk recently: Patrick, with his mom. He is nearly unrecognizable as the sad baby Eaton remembers. Now, he is a happy, charming, chattering five-year-old, ready to start school.

For more information, contact: Adopt A Special Kid (AASK) Midwest—Beverly Moore, adoptions director, 1025 N. Reynolds Rd., Toledo, Ohio 43615. Tel.: 419-534-3350 or 800-246-1731; fax: 419-534-2995.

AASK has recently established an advocacy group that will represent the interests of special-needs children on Capitol Hill: Adopt A Special Kid (AASK) America—Maureen Hogan, executive director, P.O. Box 77672, Washington, D.C. 20013. Tel.: 202-388-3888, fax: 202-396-0340.

Siblings Sherita and Antwan are among the many adoptable kids featured on the AASK Web site.

Photo courtesy of AASK

A K.I.D.S. Exchange

As a child, Janet Marchese was scared to death of a man in her neighborhood—a man known as "crazy Raymond" who, it turns out, had Down's syndrome.

The fear and ignorance she was taught as a child Marchese now confronts on a daily basis as the founder of A K.I.D.S. Exchange, which stands for "adoption, knowledge, and information on Down's syndrome."

Literally a kitchen-table operation, Marchese and her husband, Louis, a retired New York City policeman, work tirelessly to match Down's syndrome babies with families who are willing to adopt them. With no outside funding except for a now-expired six-year grant from the John F. Kennedy Jr. Foundation, the Marcheses have used all of their resources to combat the myths about Down's syndrome. "When you're motivated," Marchese says, "you find ways."

To support their efforts, Louis works as a plumber, while Janet has established herself as one of the top doll dealers in the United States. Everything they earn goes into their adoption work, especially monthly telephone bills that run into thousands of dollars, plus mailing and photocopying costs.

Their motivation comes from their own adopted son, T.J., who has Down's syndrome. Now 20 years old and a senior in high school, T.J. is a social butterfly and computer whiz who works part-time at a video rental store, writes for the school newspaper, and is going for his brown belt in karate. But when Janet and Louis first took him in as foster parents after he'd been abandoned at the age of three weeks, the social worker said he was unadoptable, incapable of walking or talking, and bound for an institution. "What a pitiful scenario," says Janet. "I was amazed at how bright he was and how wonderful he was."

The Marcheses fell in love with T.J. and quickly moved to adopt him. Ensuring that other Down's syndrome babies weren't labeled unadoptable soon became their life's mission. "If I didn't exist," says Janet, "there would be a hundred more kids like him disappearing into institutions."

Since the Marcheses launched their organization in 1976, they have orchestrated at least 3,500 adoptions of Down's syndrome children. Janet hears about babies who need homes and connects them with suitable families. With her nationwide network of contacts, she assists agencies that may never have handled a Down's syndrome baby and don't have the resources to find a home for the child. In more than 20 years of handling such adoptions, she has never seen a family regret adopting a child.

Why are they so successful? Janet cites those large phone bills. She explains that when parents are distraught over discovering they have, or will soon have, a handicapped baby, they need individual counseling with someone who has gone through the same experience. Prospective adoptive parents, too, need this kind of personal attention.

"There's a lot to do with such a simple little thing as who answers the phone," she says. "People will call the social-service agencies and get turned off—that's where we lose the success. The public agencies have limited budgets and a lack of enthusiasm. For them, it's a job. For us, it's our life."

She has also excelled in her secondary goal: Dispelling the myths about Down's syndrome. "When I started, there were 20 kids for every parent," she says, "and now there are 20 parents for every kid."

But much remains to be done. After receiving a prenatal test indicating Down's syndrome, a mother these days is still likely to be counseled to terminate her pregnancy or institutionalize the child. And agencies continue to classify Down's syndrome babies as unadoptable. "It's still those same people who are saying, 'Run for your life! It's Raymond!' " says Janet.

For more information, contact: A K.I.D.S. Exchange—Janet Marchese, 56 Midchester Avenue, White Plains, N.Y. 10606. Tel.: 914-428-1236.

Children with AIDS

James Michael Jenkins began his life as Infant X, a racially mixed baby addicted to methadone, heroin, and cocaine. He had been abandoned at birth and had tested positive for HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. The hospital that was his home couldn't even find a foster family for him. That is, not until Joy Jenkins, a nurse at the hospital who wanted to adopt a baby, came by one day.

Like Janet and Louis Marchese, Joy and her husband, Jim, soon found

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

themselves in love with the little guy, adopted him, and then established an organization to help other children like him. For the last eight years, Jim Jenkins has been running the Children with Aids Project, mostly full-time, with minimal compensation.

So far, the project has no major funding, but Jim remains optimistic. His aim is to develop a national endowment fund that would help defray the expenses of families who want to adopt infants with HIV.

The project has undertaken a major fundraising drive. On September 16, Louie Rochon began a walking trip across the United States that will take him two years to complete, raising funds along the way for the children. They have raised $2,000 and hope to find a publicist to promote the walk in the coming months. Jenkins refuses to take any public grant money. "I'm a firm believer that private enterprise can come to the fore to solve social problems," he explains.

The Children with Aids Project also functions as an information exchange, not an adoption agency. Jim maintains a database of families interested in adopting HIV-positive children on a computer donated by Sears Business Systems. Rather than maintain files on waiting children, Jenkins focuses on recruiting families and then refers them to adoption agencies on a case-by-case basis.

The Jenkinses have recruited mainly through word-of-mouth, but the project has recently taken off through the Internet. Jim says their Web site has "just gone crazy," receiving more than 250,000 visitors from around the world. Since families pass through his offices on their way to an agency, Jim doesn't always know when he's been successful, but he does know that they have helped at least 60 children find homes since they began eight years ago.

Jim wears two silver bracelets to remind him of two of those children, Laurie and Alexis, both of whom died of AIDS. Both children died, however, in the care of loving families. And that's what motivates Jim Jenkins in the face of hardship. "If you can find one home for one child," he says, "that's a victory."

For more information, contact: Children with Aids Project of America—Jim Jenkins, 4141 W. Bethany Home Rd., Suite 5, Phoenix, Ariz. 85013, tel.: 602-973-4319, fax 602-530-3541 Internet: http://www.aidskids. org.

Personal Commitment

Each of these private groups is stepping in to fill a vacuum: Their work is a plea for the children that many parents are aborting on a daily basis. And their efforts are putting to shame the excesses of a government-run foster-care system that allows too many children to go through their childhoods without a permanent, loving home.

Why are these groups successful, on such limited budgets, when the public agencies are not? The biggest reason is their personal commitment to the children—their passion for helping kids find permanent families. In most cases, these activists know from personal experience what many government bureaucrats can never know: "There is no such thing as an unadoptable child," says Maureen Hogan, the executive director of AASK's advocacy office in Washington. "We can say that with no qualification."

She told us how to help the poor . . .

. . . but the 20th Century didn't listen!

OCTAVIA HILL, the 19th-century English charity worker, spent a lifetime living with the poor and working to improve their lives. She condemned government's approach of materialistic giving, pointing out that it weakened the poor and increased dependency. What the poor need, she said, are personal gifts of friendship, encouragement, and guidance.

In ***The Befriending Leader***, political scientist and welfare scholar James L. Payne has brought together Octavia Hill's finest essays on working with the poor. Her words of advice are an inspiration to anyone helping the poor to help themselves.

THE BEFRIENDING LEADER:
SOCIAL ASSISTANCE WITHOUT DEPENDENCY
Essays by Octavia Hill
Edited and with an introduction by James L. Payne
88 pages, paperback, $9.95

"Octavia Hill emerges from these essays as the mother of tough love. Her essays ought to be studied by anyone who seeks an effective model for non-sentimental programs of charity."
—Father Robert A. Sirico
President, The Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty

RETURN THIS COUPON TODAY!

Please send:
__copies of **The Befriending Leader** @ $9.95 each

Total amount enclosed $_____
(Publisher pays shipping on prepaid orders)

Name_____

Address_____

_____

Mail with check to: Lytton Publishing Co.
Box 1212
Sandpoint, Idaho 83864

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Job Tree Grows in Brooklyn

One of the most controversial provisions of last year's welfare reform is the denial of government social services to legal immigrants who aren't citizens. The new law bars noncitizens from receiving food stamps until they become citizens or have worked in America for at least 10 years. In the future, legal immigrants will be denied most benefits and social services during their first five years of residence. These provisions reflect a new consensus on immigration policy: America should be open to foreigners who come here for an opportunity to work, not for welfare. But critics say that denying social services will hurt the communities where immigrants live.

A job-training program run by a Catholic priest in Brooklyn shows how private programs can equip immigrants to become self-sufficient. Called Resources, the program takes English-illiterate immigrants from China, El Salvador, and the former Soviet Republics, as well as refugees from Haiti and elsewhere, and turns them into successful, English-speaking chefs, professional cleaners, and graphic designers. The program's success in training and placing immigrants in well-paying jobs—all without government assistance—could help shift the immigration debate from the language of exclusion to that of empowerment.

Modern-Day Sweatshops

It all started with a wrong turn. Father Ronald T. Marino worked for 15 years at the Catholic Migration Office in New York, but had never confronted the problem of immigrant employment. On a sweltering day in July 1994, however, he found he couldn't avoid it. While scouting for used office furniture in a building on Brooklyn's 65th Street, Marino stumbled upon a room overflowing with perhaps 150 women and children, most of them Chinese. They were sewing, and all the windows were painted over to hide their existence from outsiders.

Marino demanded an explanation from the manager, seated in his air-conditioned office. He was promptly escorted to the door. Marino realized he had stumbled upon a nest of illegal immigrants working in a sweatshop. "The church has to do something about this," the Catholic priest recalls thinking. "At that moment, I started to get obsessed with the work issue for immigrants."

Two years later, Marino directs one of the most innovative and successful job-training programs for immigrants in Brooklyn. His Resources program has helped about 100 men and women—many with no work experience and no English-speaking ability—to become literate and qualify for good-paying jobs. If the passport to economic independence is effective job-training, Marino is the sort of man you want stamping the papers: He trains immigrants in one of three nonprofit businesses owned by Resources. About 98 percent of his graduates are employed and off the welfare rolls.

Finding the right training formula took some undercover work. Marino posed as a man in search of a career change to see how government job-training programs worked. He found they were both costly and ineffective. Vocational schools taught some skills, but the participants were still virtually unemployable. The programs were rewarded with subsidies for keeping large numbers of participants in training, but not for placing them in jobs. Neither were they penalized for failing to make the trainees marketable.

Marino told the *Washington Times*, "The people running the programs would say to me, off the record, that I as an American who could speak the language so well stood a pretty good chance of getting a job, but that these immigrants basically had no hope."

The clergyman drafted a proposal for an employment training program and distributed 20 copies. Nineteen business people who received it said he was crazed. One copy went to his bishop, who encouraged him. That was enough.

Marino went on a speaking tour in Italy, where he shared his vision with a group of Italian businessmen. In gratitude for what America has given Italian immigrants, the businessmen offered him $50,000 for the program, stipulating only that the money aid other nationalities as well. Marino launched Resources in 1994 with this seed money, and has since received no funds from either the government or the diocese, although both have been offered. The successful training program owns the businesses where its trainees work, and their work helps fund the program. It is now nearly self-supporting, grossing almost $500,000 in 1996.

A Catholic priest runs a job-training program to help non-English-speaking immigrants become self-sufficient.

Five Principles

The Resources concept has been honed to five tenets:

- Require proficiency in English and provide instruction to those trainees who need it;
- Teach a trade through both hands-on training and classroom instruction;
- Strengthen the character of participants; teach the dignity of excellence in work;
- Create companies to employ the trainees;

by Barbara von der Heydt

Barbara von der Heydt is a Senior Fellow at the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty, in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

◦ Help graduates gain clients within the community, ultimately launching them in their own businesses.

Besides its entrepreneurial focus, Resources is distinguished from other programs by its underlying philosophy. A summary graces the stairway to the group's offices: "The aim of work is not the work itself, but rather it is man." The words are those of Pope John Paul II, from the encyclical on "Human Work" (1980). They reflect the modern Catholic understanding that honest work—whatever it may be—has an ennobling effect on the human spirit. This is because work encourages the virtues of discipline, cooperation, honesty—all essential to fostering the dignity of the worker.

"I try to communicate an attitude toward work to the participants," says Michael A. Campo, a job trainer and manager with Resources. "The attitude is very important. Some think work is what you do for a wage, but it is far more. The feeling in the heart comes first before the technical procedures. If you put your heart into your work, and do whatever you do well, it's contagious."

When Dave Ali arrived in America from Trinidad, he did not know how to turn on a computer. Now, after two and a half years in the program, he is a full-time assistant in computer graphics at Resources. "I'm very excited about it," he says. "I never knew I had any artistic talent, but they put a lot of effort into teaching me. Now I help other people discover their own ideas."

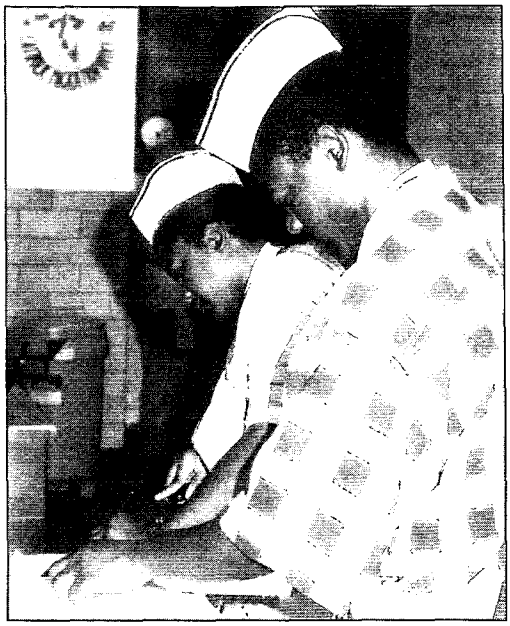
Trainees are tested in their English ability, and are required to take remedial English until they demonstrate proficiency. As Marino explains, "If you're serious about living and working here, you have to be able to understand a supervisor's instructions in English." Trainees attend one of 30 English schools run by the Catholic Migration offices in Brooklyn and Queens.

Once they learn enough English, immigrants get professional training in one of the three businesses run by Resources: commercial cleaning, computer graphics, or culinary arts. If they pick professional cleaning, they receive 100 hours of instruction. For graphics and culinary arts, students get three semesters of instruction totaling 300 hours. Then they receive on-the-job training through an apprenticeship.

Participants pay $400 per semester, either in advance or from their salaries. This is not the make-work approach of many government job-training efforts. The clients of Resources Graphic Design have included Italian fashion designer Max Mara and Telesoft USA, a global telecommunications company. Professional Cleaning did more than $130,000 worth of business in its first year alone.

How It Works

Here's the nuts and bolts: After completing the training and apprenticeship, worker get a company uniform and joins a supervised team at a work site, earning from $7 to $10 per hour. At the end of the first year, these workers are invited back to be trained as supervisors making at least $10 an hour. Supervisors are taught to manage a crew, handle employee problems, order supplies, and deal effectively with customers. Each such promotion frees up a work space for a newly graduated student.



From immigrants to gourmet chefs: These two Resources trainees cook up a storm.

Photo courtesy of Resources

Supervisors can then be trained as managers, who are responsible for bidding on new contracts, ascertaining the needs of customers, obtaining machinery and chemicals, and dispensing work crews. In the final step, Resources will invite a small group of competent managers to form their own small business and award them two Resources contracts to get started.

Students of culinary arts are given 200 hours of sophisticated instruction. Then they are ready to apprentice in a real restaurant. Restaurateurs are each asked to contribute $1,000 toward a scholarship for a student; in return, they receive that student's services for a semester. In this way the student learns on-site from a professional chef. Many are offered a permanent position with their sponsor after graduation. All of the students who have graduated from the culinary-arts program are now gainfully employed.

The Resources program effectively combines job training with job creation: Most of its graduates work in businesses owned by Resources. The local business community and Catholic parishes and schools in the diocese are regular clients for cleaning and graphics services. Local businesses and printing shops that cannot afford in-house graphics staff also contract with Resources, as do parishes and schools. Churches in need of cleaning but short on staff and cash have found a godsend. Catering is the next planned expansion.

An Alternative to Welfare

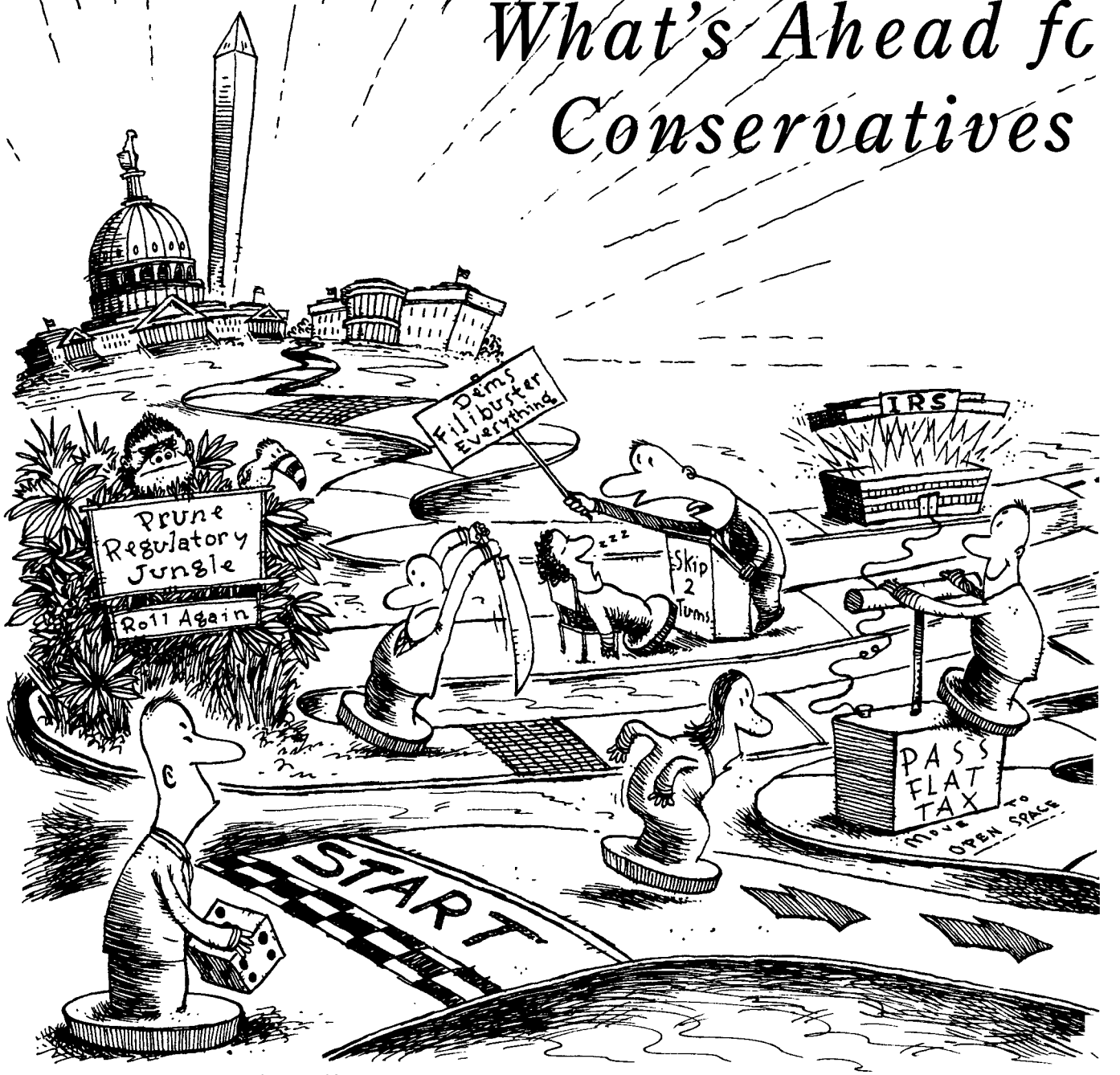
Marino's concept was designed to help immigrants, but it could address a bigger problem—the welfare caseload. The basic strengths of the model—teaching not only marketable skills but also the inherent value of work and vocation—are in urgent demand among welfare recipients. As the work requirements of welfare reform take effect, politicians will be especially anxious to create jobs and job-training programs. They had better start looking at what works.

Marino likes to reflect on the purpose of work—and of life—and how his program helps to strengthen the character of immigrants and those who are working with them. Because poverty is a moral issue as well as an economic one, he believes, those who empower the needy to live in dignity and provide for their families reap spiritual fruits for themselves. "We are made in the image of Christ," Marino says. "In order for me to find my dignity, I need to help you find yours. If you serve Christ, you see Him in the person you serve. You discover your own dignity in seeing Him in others."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Triumphs & Traps

What's Ahead fc Conservatives



All illustrations by David Clark

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dick Armey
Lamar Alexander
Grover G. Norquist
Jack Faris
Jeb Bush
Gary Bauer
Steve Forbes
Sam Brownback
Sally C. Pipes
John H. Fund
John C. Goodman
John J. Pitney Jr.
Robert L. Woodson
Kay Bailey Hutchison
Pete du Pont
William A. Niskanen
Cal Thomas
Tod Lindberg
Don Eberly
Thomas W. Carroll
Paul M. Weyrich
Bob Williams
Karen Kerrigan
Thomas C. Patterson

What do the 1996 elections tell us about where the American people want the country to go? Is the country still shifting toward conservative government?

What are the greatest opportunities now to advance the conservative agenda in the Congress? And what can conservatives in the 105th Congress learn from the successes and failures of the 104th Congress?

What are you most worried about in a second Clinton term, and how can conservatives fight the most dangerous liberal initiatives?

Policy Review: The Journal of American Citizenship posed these questions to 24 conservative political and intellectual leaders.

Dick Armey

When the American people gave Republicans the majority in both houses of Congress in 1994, many journalists and pundits called it a sea change, a transformation of the political landscape brought about by an upsurge of voter discontent.

In 1996, President Clinton was re-elected on a campaign platform that echoed much of the GOP agenda, and Republicans retained their majorities in both Houses for the first time since 1928. It is clear that American politics and government are being transformed not by sudden upheaval, but by the steady current of common-sense conservatism.

There is no longer any question that the nation wants smaller and more effective government, lower taxes, and a return to the values of freedom and responsibility. Exit polls from the election show that more voters identify themselves as conservative than liberal by a margin of almost two to one.

It is now up to elected officials on both halves of the political spectrum to fulfill the expectations so clearly expressed by American voters. Both presidential candidates campaigned on conservative principles, as did most winning candidates for House and Senate seats, Republican and Democrat alike.

One of the first priorities of the 105th Congress will be to work with the moderate Democrats who campaigned on conservative principles. Since the election, I have made more than 30 calls to the more moderate of the Democratic members of Congress to invite them to work with us on reforms at a pace the president can handle. We learned in the last Congress that Bill Clinton can't take change in big doses, and we'll continue to reduce wasteful Washington spending and unnecessary government programs, although at a somewhat slower pace.

The American people returned a Republican majority in both chambers in part because they know they can trust Republicans to hew to a conservative path and hold Bill Clinton to his campaign promises. One priority of the next Congress will be to help Bill Clinton keep the promises he has made to the American people.

Last year, Bill Clinton responded to the conservative call to balance the budget by promising voters a balanced budget with family tax relief. By law, he is supposed to submit a budget proposal to Congress in early February. We will thoroughly examine the president's budget to ensure that it lives up to the promises he made during the campaign. Now that the GOP has retained a majority in the House and increased its majority in the Senate, the president will find it difficult to back out of a real balanced budget agreement. And with the addition of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two more GOP Senators, the American people are virtually assured passage of a Balanced Budget Amendment in the 105th Congress, perhaps even with the president's support.

The president has promised to get tough on crime and drugs, two of the biggest threats to America's families. The Republican Congress will make certain that crime stays on the top of the president's post-election agenda, and that during Bill Clinton's second term the nation will take the necessary steps to stem illegal drug use among our children.

Bill Clinton also promised to save Medicare from bankruptcy without imposing any untenable hardships upon Medicare recipients. As the polemics of this last election showed, Medicare can be used as a powerful political tool, but we will ensure that the long-term solvency of the program and the needs of Medicare recipients will supersede politics.

With its continued majorities in both houses, the Republican Congress will also be able to pursue those issues that speak to American families and their values, including—with the stronger majority in the Senate—an increased likelihood that we will be able to override the president's veto of the ban on partial-birth abortions. And, as promised by House Speaker Newt Gingrich, a vote on a constitutional amendment to limit congressional terms will be the first substantive vote of the 105th Congress.

The arrival of two more GOP senators virtually guarantees a Balanced Budget Amendment.
—Dick Armey

We will also move forward on Superfund reform so that the money now going to lawyers will go instead to speed the cleanup of toxic waste in neighborhoods across America. Building on last year's historic welfare reform, we will continue to replace dependency with opportunity through enterprise zones, public housing reforms, and opportunity scholarships. And now that we've seen union officials openly trying to buy Congress and foreign interests trying to buy the White House, we must address the role of money in politics before the next election.

The 105th Congress will also continue to maintain and develop effective congressional oversight and review of the executive branch. One of Congress's key constitutional responsibilities is to assess whether government programs work and how they might be improved.

The move toward conservative government has been a steady tide, and the 1996 elections exposed the erosion of support for decades of liberal policies. For the first time in many years, we will see not a battle between liberal ideas and conservative principles, but rather a debate over how to apply conservative principles to repair the damage caused by decades of Big Government liberalism.

Elected officials no longer argue over whether to balance the budget, but how and when; not over whether to shrink the size of the government, but by how much and to what aim; not over whether to eliminate harmful welfare programs, but over how best to end the cycle of dependency and reward work and personal responsibility.

Conservatives should be pleased that common-sense conservatism has occupied the center of political debate. There is no longer any argument over whether the American people want to move our country in a more conservative direction; only a debate over how quickly we can get there.

Dick Armey, a Republican from Texas, is the Majority Leader of the House of Representatives.

—— Lamar Alexander ——

The lesson of the election is this: there will be no end to the era of Big Government until there is a Republican president, and there will be no Republican president until conservatives can say what America will look like in the post-Big Government era. The voters knew what they were doing. They elected a Democratic president who said the era of Big Government is over and, for insurance, a Republican Congress that actually believes it. They refused to put conservatives completely in charge because President Clinton persuaded enough voters that a Republican government would make tomorrow worse than today for everyone, except perhaps for men making more than $75,000 a year. So in the time of great change, the voters made sure not much will change.

The worst mistake conservatives could make would be to back away from a bold agenda. The country is moving our way. If we want to be a governing party instead of a congressional party, we must learn to paint a conservative picture of the future in a more compelling way than liberals paint theirs. All our recent presidential losses—1976, 1992, and 1996—have come because of our failure to do just that.

Our success has, in part, been our undoing. In 1964, Ronald Reagan defined our twin enemies: an evil empire abroad and an arrogant empire at home. Now we have won. The Cold War is over and the end of the era of Big Government has been proclaimed. In defeating our enemies, we have become good at saying what we are against, but not at saying what we are for.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our task is harder than that of liberals. Their message of hope is a feint to the right plus a trivial federal program. Our message of hope is a real step to the right plus a dose of inconvenience: expect less from government and more of ourselves. Our message is a lot of trouble. It would be nice to be able to hire someone else—say, the government—to save our children from drugs, make our streets safer, strengthen our families, and restore our values. But only we can. Our advantage is that our message of hope actually works.

We conservatives have our work cut out for us. We must learn to say what we are for in plain words. We need choir practice. We sing the right song, but we are embarrassingly out of tune when we get to the part about the future. Sometimes the voters must listen to us and think we don't have a clue. We need to stop sounding like a convention of Washington lawyers who have not yet heard, for example, that family life is harder because schools close at 3 P.M. and parents work until 5:30.

Bob Dole was at his best when he explained that his tax cut would pay for four months of day care at Casey's General Store Child Development Center, in Ankeny, Iowa. The working mother at Casey's didn't need to believe in the tax cut to vote for Senator Dole. She did need to believe that he understood her struggles with day care. Eliminating the U.S. Department of Education and encouraging home schooling alone do not answer the education question for about 90 percent of American families. We must paint a vivid picture of how we will help create the best schools in the world.

In Congress, the greatest opportunities for conservatives are: (1) Enact the Balanced Budget Amendment; (2) make welfare reform work; (3) cut the capital gains tax in half; (4) eliminate chunks of overbearing laws and regulations and start over; (5) create a citizens' Congress with term limits. With a Democratic president, I hold no hope for two of the most important initiatives: a new tax system (I favor two low rates and just a few deductions) and a GI Bill for Kids that would convert federal money now spent on programs into scholarships that middle- and low-income students could use at any school.

The most ominous liberal initiatives? (1) Supreme Court Justice appointments; (2) a tilt toward labor; (3) more federal control of local schools.

I worry far less about what Bill Clinton will do than about what we will fail to do. We could become comfortable as a congressional party, a perpetual Republican insurance policy against the excesses of a moderate Democratic president. Some conservatives are even suggesting that the presidency has become miniaturized, barely worth having. This is very dangerous thinking.

The president's job is to recognize our urgent needs, develop strategies to deal with them, and to persuade at least half of us that he is right. The president should be the nation's agenda setter. Conservatives should see as indispensable a strong Republican president who can tell us where we are going and how we will get there. Without such a president, this country will never see a new tax system, parental choice among the best schools, a strengthening of national defense and of families, a balanced budget, or an end to the era of Big Government.

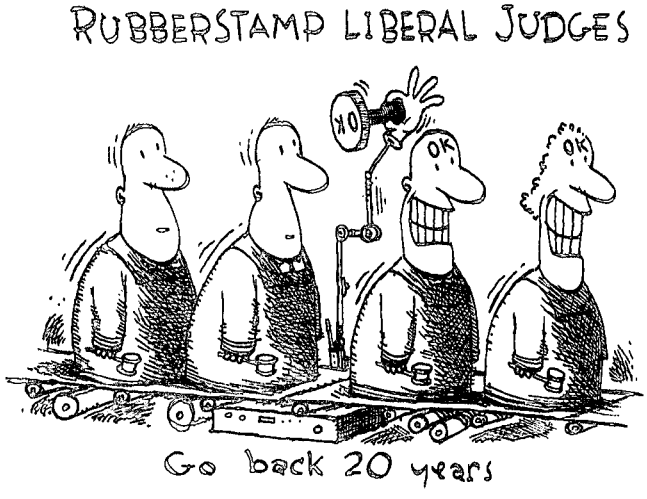
What I fear most about Bill Clinton's second term as president is that conservatives will fail to do what is necessary to persuade at least half the people that tomorrow will be better than today only if we expect less of government and more of ourselves.

Lamar Alexander is the codirector of Empower America and the chairman of the National Commission on Philanthropy and Civic Renewal.

—— Grover G. Norquist ——

The election of 1996 confirmed that the Reagan Republican coalition is the natural governing majority in the United States. In January, Republicans will hold a majority in the House of Representatives, an increased majority in the Senate, the governorships of 32 states that represent 75 percent of American voters, 51 percent of state legislative seats outside the South, and unified control of the governorship and state legislature in 12 states (compared with complete Democratic control in six).

Bill Clinton's re-election with a 49 percent plurality does not mitigate the depth of conserv-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ative strength any more than Eisenhower's twin victories or Nixon's 1972 landslide hindered the growth of government and the consolidation of the welfare state.

If the AFL-CIO spent a mere 10 percent of its members' dues on political activities this year, then it spent $600 million in "soft money," "volunteer" staff time, and phone and photocopy costs to supplement the well-publicized commitment of $35 million in television, radio, and mail attacks upon Republican representatives. Yet even this tsunami of money from unions, environmental groups, and even foreign interests could not erode the firmly entrenched gains of the Republican Party at all levels of government.

The failure of the Dole candidacy does not indicate that the tax issue has lost its potency. The 105th Congress will have 200 House members and 44 Senators who have signed and campaigned on the Taxpayer Protection Pledge against raising income taxes. And more than 700 state legislators have signed the state Taxpayer Protection Pledge forswearing *any* tax hike. Initiatives placed before voters on November 5 also spoke loudly to the tax issue: Florida voted to require a two-thirds supermajority of the people to enact any new constitutionally imposed tax—in effect, any state income tax. Nevada voted to require a two-thirds vote of the state legislature to enact any tax increase. South Dakota voted to require either a majority vote of the people or a two-thirds vote of the legislature for any tax increase. California voted to require a vote of the people for any local tax increase. Florida voters rejected a penny a pound tax on sugar to "save" the Everglades. Nebraska voters defeated an initiative sponsored by the teachers union to make "quality education" a "fundamental constitutional right." Oregon voted down an effort to expand a light-rail system.

Conservatives have several opportunities in the 105th Congress. First, corporate welfare spending should be eliminated. The abolition of corporate welfare spending saves taxpayers money, eliminates a source of corruption, and reduces the role of government in the economy.

The labor unions' misuse of compulsory union dues to play politics gives Republicans an opportunity to recreate the Kefauver Commission that examined corruption in labor unions in the 1950s. The *Beck* decision by the Supreme Court in 1988 specifically forbids the use of compulsory union dues for purposes beyond the negotiation and maintenance of a member's contract. Yet the Clinton administration refuses to enforce this right of workers and the labor union bosses have unconstitutionally spent money that does not belong to them. Congress must shine some sunlight on the inner workings of this corruption.

And Congress should continue three crusades. First, school choice: Clinton will veto a plan to give America's poorest families control over their education. But let's make this father of a child in private school publicly and repeatedly expose his own hypocrisy. Second, tort reform: Clinton's party is owned by the trial lawyers. Make him sing for his supper and publicly admit that he is bought and paid for by vetoing reform measure after reform measure. And third, the Republican leadership in the House has promised a vote every April 15 on a constitutional amendment to require a supermajority of two-thirds to raise any tax. Congress should continue this anniversary tradition.

The welfare state was not built in 2 years. It will not fall in 2, 4, or 6 years.
—Grover Norquist

The experience of the 104th Congress teaches us to continue to push for a balanced budget by 2002 with tax cuts. Placed in this box, Clinton cannot expand government and must reduce both discretionary spending and entitlement costs. In just two years, with this strategy, Republicans ended two seemingly immortal programs: the welfare entitlement and farm subsidies. And Republicans should continue to be both persistent and patient. The welfare state was not built in two years. It will not fall to the forces of freedom in two, four, or even six years.

The greatest dangers of a Clinton second term are his judicial appointments, his vacillation in world affairs, and his willingness to abuse and corrupt the FBI and the IRS to attack and harass his political enemies. Republicans will have to work hard and learn fast to ensure that our foreign policy does not implode and to keep Clinton's bureaucracy from continuing to misuse its power.

Grover G. Norquist is the president of Americans for Tax Reform, in Washington, D.C.

—— Jack Faris ——

For the first time in 60 years, a majority friendly to small business has taken root in Congress. As measured by National Federation of Independent Businesses (NFIB), the 103rd Congress voted with small business about 55 percent of the time. That number shot up to 70 percent in the 104th Congress. We expect it to be even higher in the 105th Congress.

The 104th Congress was gratifying for those of us who spent the last 40 years fighting the legislation of anti-business majorities. At the end of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the 104th Congress, NFIB recognized a record number of "Guardians of Small Business": members of Congress who voted with small business at least 70 percent of the time. But the 104th Congress was by no means perfect. It was necessarily partisan, and its reform-by-leaps agenda provoked opposition from the press and the White House. We at NFIB hope to see a more incremental approach to reform in the 105th Congress and a bipartisan approach to passing conservative legislation.

The new Congress will have the opportunity to address fundamental issues such as tax reform, increased affordability and availability of health care, reform of the civil-justice system, elimination of the death (estate) tax for the family farm, ranch, and business, relief of crushing and unnecessary business regulations, and balancing the federal budget. The incremental steps on tax reform and health-care reform made at the end of the 104th Congress laid the groundwork for more changes in the 105th.

I am optimistic about this second term, based on President Clinton's statements during the campaign, in which he often mentioned small business, and his appointment of Erskine Bowles, former head of the Small Business Administration, as White House chief of staff.

However, we are urging small-business owners to be alert to small steps by the administration that, taken together, could result in health-care "reforms" that kill businesses by a thousand cuts. We hope President Clinton will not seek to enhance his legacy by increasing mandated health benefits, loading the costs of those mandates on the backs of hardworking small-business owners and their families. This is not the way to make health care more available or affordable, and it would destroy jobs and endanger the health of our economy.

The American people want a culture and an economy that is family-friendly.
—Jeb Bush

The president has indicated he wants to expand the Family and Medical Leave Act. This, too, would be an unnecessary mandate on small business. It will be a sad day in America when we need the government to facilitate parent-teacher meetings or doctors' visits. In small business, employees are often the family members of the owner, and those who are not family members are nevertheless treated as such. Small-business owners and their employees get along very nicely without help from Washington.

Congress should fight such mandates by simply drawing a line in the sand. Tell the president, with all due respect, that he cannot dictate the way Americans run their lives, and that he cannot pay for government solutions with payroll taxes. Conservatives need to build a bipartisan coalition that will turn back every attempt to expand the role of government and prevent the cumulative effect of a thousand deadly cuts.

Jack Faris is the president of the National Federation of Independent Business, in Washington, D.C.

—— Jeb Bush ——

In 1994, the American electorate put liberalism to the sword and severely wounded the Democratic Party. The results were a clear mandate for change, but euphoric Republicans mistook it as a mandate for revolution. Now the 1996 election results are in, President Clinton has been re-elected, and the opportunity for swift and total change is over.

This is not to say that the country is any less conservative in 1996 than in 1994 or that the Republican Party is no longer in ascendance. In fact, the policies that President Clinton ostensibly embraced during his re-election campaign are clear evidence that conservatism is still setting the political and economic agenda in America and will do so for the foreseeable future.

The electorate's conservatism, however, is instinctive, not logically consistent or intellectually rigorous. The election of 1996 should remind conservatives that American voters generally care less about ideological labels and the impassioned pursuit of principle than about "getting the job done." The American people want their children to learn in school, they want to feel secure in their homes, they want to know they will be cared for in their old age, and they want a culture and economy that is family-friendly. Policy people and politicians covered in the dust and sweat of the arena may rejoice at calling this "conservatism." Average Americans call it looking out for their loved ones and their pocketbooks.

On Election Day, the American people chose a president who worked hard to show he was looking out for their loved ones and their pocketbooks, too. Although conservatives may have had better ideas, Bill Clinton had compassion. He came across as the family physician, while conservatives were portrayed as eager surgeons.

In the end, we failed to explain why our policies for devolution and privatization and less government were more compassionate. Ultimately, that is the reason why the electorate settled for the therapeutic model of Clinton's "Little Things Presidency," based on concerns like school uniforms, teenage smoking, illiteracy, and church burnings.

Voters may have reined in the Republican

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Party in 1996, but they objected less to the substance than to presentation and pace. The message from the American people is this: "Go ahead, but go slow. Offer us a competing vision that is convincingly compassionate, not cavalier. If you are saying less government is compassionate, tell us why. And, be careful on Medicare, on devolution of power to the states, on deregulation of the American economy, and a host of other issues. We only put Bill Clinton there to act as an emergency brake on any rash moves by a Republican Congress."

Humility, rhetorical moderation, and patience are the principal lessons that conservatives in the 105th Congress should learn from the failures and successes of the 104th. There is no presidential campaign on the horizon, so the 105th Congress should focus on policy, not personalities. It should aim to improve the lives of the average American by applying conservative principles to government policy, not by pillorying Bill Clinton. If the president wants to join in—or even lead—a conservative initiative, then conservatives should welcome him to the team. And whenever he reverts to his liberal instincts, conservatives should oppose him fiercely but without the bombast, arrogance, and hard-edged ideological rhetoric that so colored public perceptions of GOP legislative controversies during the first Clinton administration.

If the GOP can't speak to matters of the heart, it will never be a majority party. —Gary Bauer

In terms of legislative opportunities, conservatives must defend welfare reform from the attacks that will inevitably follow Bill Clinton's reelection. Tax cuts and continued deregulation of the economy must remain priorities. The devolution of power to the states on everything from education to Medicaid must go forward. Term limits and a Balanced Budget Amendment are certain winners with the public and good policy to boot. And ensuring the financial stability of Medicare without alienating older voters or increasing taxes remains the Gordian knot of national politics.

With or without a Republican Congress, the presidency is still the most powerful office in the world. There are other, more discreet ways for the president to advance a liberal agenda. The "gays in the military" policy was decreed by executive order, as were most of his foreign policy and national security initiatives. And, the president still retains the awesome power of appointing judges to the Supreme Court and the lower federal courts. A Clintonesque judiciary could undo conservative accomplishments in the Congress, in state legislatures, and through ballot initiatives.

The 1996 elections were a lesson in compassion, not a repudiation of conservatism. We will achieve the dream of a generation of conservative governance once we offer our vision of effective compassion.

Jeb Bush is the president of The Foundation for Florida's Future.

—— Gary Bauer ——

Now, the people who brought us the Bush campaign of 1992 and the Dole campaign of 1996 are receding, temporarily, into the shadows. They have escaped, as Churchill would have said, "unsung and unhung." It is critically important that we conservatives understand why the Republicans lost in 1992 and 1996. If we listen to the liberal media, we will continue to make the disastrous mistakes that were made in these two dismal campaigns.

The morning after the election, a friend of mine told the *Wall Street Journal:* "The evolution of the Republican Party into a confident, conservative, aggressive, pro-family Southern and Western party is complete." I respect my friend's superb political skills, but this way of looking at the Republican future will only bring the party permanent minority status. Looking at the electoral maps of 1992 and 1996, we see that a party limited to the South and West will never regain the White House. Barry Goldwater joked about sawing off the Northeast, but Ronald Reagan carried New York and Massachusetts *twice.* I'll go with Reagan.

Our analysis of the 1996 results brings forth this startling conclusion: The GOP was defeated in the past two presidential elections because the Catholic vote collapsed. Exit polls will not tell us this. What we learn from them—and it is important—is who came to the polls and what they did. But the Family Research Council's examination of selected counties with high Catholic populations show that the GOP turned off huge numbers of Catholic voters who had been powerfully trending toward the conservative social positions of Ronald Reagan and George Bush in the 1980s. These counties may be the keys to the electoral lock.

It is not that Bill Clinton was so popular in these counties. (In many of them, Clinton's 1996 vote tally is little better than that of Michael Dukakis in 1988.) It is that the "bread alone" Republican campaigns of 1992 and 1996 were so unpopular. The GOP turned off voters by talking about money, only money, and avoiding family and social issues. The party must find a way to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

regain the support of "soccer moms," to be sure. But it can't afford to alienate the "bocce uncles" in ethnic Catholic communities either.

Partial-birth abortion is a horrific procedure. It shocks the conscience just to think of it. Even such liberals as Mary McGrory, Pat Moynihan, and Richard Cohen recoil from it. But Bill Clinton approves of it. His veto of the ban on partial-birth abortions was the cruelest act of any American president. Yet he paid no political price because the Dole-Kemp campaign refused to confront him about it. Joe Barrett, a perceptive analyst of the Catholic vote, says: "Bill Clinton knew the Republicans were afraid to confront him on partial-birth abortion. He knew he could get away with it." And he did. Dole might have turned to Clinton in the first debate and said: "You vetoed a bill to save unborn children at the very threshold of life. You approve of a procedure where the abortionist forces sharp scissors into the back of the child's skull and then inserts a catheter to suck out her brains. You say this is necessary because the child might have a handicap. Well, Mr. President, I know more about handicaps than you do. If I'm elected president, I'll sign that bill with my *left* hand."

On quotas and set-asides, Dole was not silent, only late and woefully incoherent. This is a powerful issue of justice. He could have made it a centerpiece of his national campaign. Instead, his message was garbled, confused, muted. Thus, while Dole got trounced in the Golden State, the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI) carried the state handily. Clinton was allowed to say he opposed quotas. When? The party that nominated him has imposed rigid quotas on its own delegations since 1972. His own Cabinet was an exercise in quota-mongering, employing the now famous formula: EGG—ethnicity, gender, geography.

The impact of these two vital issues on voters in crucial counties with large Catholic populations can only be imagined. Any inclination to write off the Northeast and Midwest, therefore, in the vain pursuit of a Southern and Western strategy must be resisted.

Of course the Republican party must continue to be the party that Reagan built. Of course it must continue to strengthen its growing dominance in the South and West. It must stand for a strong defense, smaller government, and lower taxes. But it must stand for more than that. The sanctity of human life, the defense of marriage, the rebuilding of a vibrant and decent culture, these things matter most. If the Republicans cannot speak to these matters of the heart, they will never become the majority party. Indeed, the party may not survive at all.

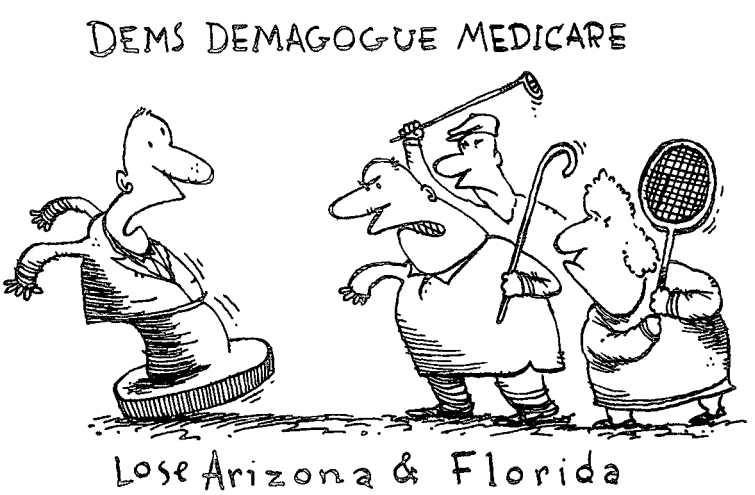
Gary Bauer is the president of the Family Research Council, in Washington, D.C.

— Steve Forbes —

The 1996 elections were a huge success for conservatives. The American electorate is still clearly trending to the right of center, and the 105th Congress will be the most conservative legislative body in the modern American political era. The newly elected Republican senators are decidedly more conservative than the Democrats (and Republicans) they replaced.

The ideological makeup of the next Congress is no accident. The American people are telling Washington they still want a social safety net, but with greater emphasis on personal responsibility. They want a government that is smaller and more efficient. They are not comfortable with one-party control of the White House, Senate, and House because the GOP offered no vision and optimism in this election. But they overwhelmingly prefer a conservative direction to a liberal one. Just look at President Clinton's tack to the right in favor of a balanced budget, welfare reform that ends the federal entitlement to government assistance and shifts money and power back to the states, a tougher approach to crime, and even limited tax cuts.

Conservatives face a great opportunity now that Bill Clinton is worried about establishing his place in history and is willing to distance himself from congressional Democrats. We should, therefore, press for passage of a Balanced Budget Amendment (with a supermajority provision for boosting taxes), tax cuts, and entitlement reforms.



True tax reform isn't likely with Bill Clinton in the White House. But the GOP must keep

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

articulating a pro-growth vision for the future whose centerpiece is turning the initials "IRS" into "RIP"—Rest in Peace. In the interim, while we press for a capital-gains tax cut and a major increase in exemptions for children, we must keep our eye on the real goal: fundamentally overhauling the federal tax code and replacing it with a simple, fair, low flat tax.

On Medicare, the GOP made an enormous mistake in the 104th Congress by constantly talking about increased deductibles, higher copayments, managed care, and "slowing the rate of growth." The key to communicating a positive message on Medicare reform is medical savings accounts. MSAs can give seniors more choices, more control, and more money in their pockets, without having to enter a dreaded HMO. We use a variation of MSAs at *Forbes* magazine. Even the United Mine Workers use MSAs. They work. It's time to make the case for MSAs before the American people.

It is also time to find our voice on Social Security reform. We must preserve the current system for those entering the system in the next 12 to 15 years. But we should start a new Social Security system for younger people, in which part of their payroll taxes would flow to their own Individual Retirement Account. Under this plan, they, not Washington politicians, would own the assets and invest them in the real American economy.

My greatest fear is that the people elected will lose confidence in our own ideas.
—Sam Brownback

Perhaps the most important lesson from the last Congress is that we must first explain to the American people the magnitude of the problems we want to solve before we try to legislate solutions. Next we must build support for our solutions by creating grassroots coalitions and getting our message directly to the public through paid advertising.

My biggest concern about the 105th Congress is that conservatives may lose their nerve. The status quo is our enemy. We should strive for steady progress over the next two years while we prepare public opinion for substantial reform of taxes and entitlements. We need to get back on offense, set the national agenda, and avoid getting sidetracked by liberals. For example, we shouldn't balk at trying to ban partial birth abortions.

Congress will be tempted to place more limits on campaign giving. We tried that approach after Watergate and got the mess we have today. Instead, Congress should remove or substantially raise limits on individual giving as long as there is full and prompt disclosure. We should require independent campaign committees to make weekly disclosures of their spending and the sources of their money. Trust the voters to decide whether the candidate is selling his soul to some special interest. Do the same thing on campaign spending caps, which independent groups have already blown to smithereens. Stop the hypocrisy.

The bottom line: Conservatives have a golden opportunity to force President Clinton to deliver on his conservative-sounding rhetoric. Carpe Diem.

Steve Forbes is the editor-in-chief and CEO of* Forbes *magazine.

—— Sam Brownback ——

The conservative agenda of the 104th Congress was validated not only by the results of the 1996 election, but by the fact that President Clinton ran on much of the same platform. President Clinton knows a winning agenda when he sees it. What happens now? We carry it out. But this time, we must act as a long-term majority party. We must not act as though we have two years to win or lose. We will have to march to a more methodical pace.

As members of the first Republican Congress in 40 years, we changed the way Washington did business. Now both political parties agree that we must balance the budget by cutting spending, not by raising taxes. We all agree that the best decisions are made closest to the people, not by a remote government. We have all learned that the people want the government to perform its core functions better, and to stop wasting their money on programs that are no longer effective or necessary. Now most parts of the political spectrum supports a national effort to achieve strong families and revive "civil society" through personal responsibility and freedom.

This war of ideas is over. The people have chosen these ideas over bigger government. Now we must move patiently forward in implementing them.

I see a number of opportunities for the 105th Congress. We must continue our push for a smaller, more focused, more efficient federal government concerned with core principles and functions. We should pass the Balanced Budget Amendment. We must also eliminate corporate welfare—those direct spending subsidies that only benefit very narrow groups. We should start by eliminating the two cabinet-level agencies that contain the most corporate welfare of all: the departments of Energy and Commerce. Obviously we must maintain the vital core programs of those agencies, including Nuclear Weapons Development, the National Weather Service, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Patent and Trademark Office, and the Census Bureau. But many others can be eliminated, privatized, or devolved to state and local levels of government. I support a proposal that would save $23 billion over five years by eliminating the Department of Energy and $6 billion for eliminating the Department of Commerce. These savings should be used to reduce the deficit and cut taxes.

Fundamental reform of the tax code and the IRS is also long overdue. Our tax code of 500 million words doesn't make sense to even the sharpest tax attorney. The code punishes families, entrepreneurs, and growth. There is also growing support in Congress to require every bill to cite precisely the constitutional authority for the statutory changes it proposes.

The GOP must fend off Clinton's endless string of political promises which, if enacted, will expand the government.
—Sally C. Pipes

My greatest fear for the 105th Congress is that the people elected on the conservative agenda will lose confidence in our own ideas even though they clearly reflect the direction the American people want to go. We should not retreat in the face of victory. We cannot afford, for the sake of our children, to continue spending as we have. We can preserve such programs as Medicare and student loans while still reducing government and adhering to core governing principles.

I could not be more optimistic about the future of this nation. We are on the right track. We must press forward with confidence, compassion, wisdom, inclusiveness, and a smile. We must each look within ourselves for solutions to our terrible social problems of crime, loss of family, drugs, and welfare dependency. When we change individually, we will change the nation. I think people are beginning to realize that this, not more government, is the answer. This, above all else, is why the conservative movement is alive and well.

Sam Brownback, a Kansas Republican, was elected to the U.S. Senate in November.

— Sally C. Pipes —

We are in a dealignment, not a realignment. Old parties are weakening, many voters split tickets in pursuit of divided government, and new party loyalties are slow to form. The challenge for conservatives, then, is to articulate a simple, cogent message based on first principles and their applications to specific policies.

Please indulge a California example. The elections in our state were, in many instances, disappointing, with the Republicans losing their majority in the state assembly. But the silver lining was the passage of the California Civil Rights Initiative. CCRI will abolish race and gender preference programs sponsored by the state and local governments. The proponents' campaign was largely based on a single principle: It is wrong for a government to discriminate based on race. The underfunded campaign was led by a man of unwavering principle and an ability to articulate his principles in both speeches and soundbites. CCRI prevailed even in the face of a well-organized campaign of distortion abetted by the free media.

CCRI wasn't enough to deliver California to Dole. In fact, Dole's last-minute embrace of the bipartisan initiative probably drove away potential supporters, because his campaign egregiously mishandled the issue. If Dole had sparked a national conversation on the meaning of rights and citizenship in a free society, beginning at the Republican convention and continuing through the election, he would have done a great service to his party and his country.

If conservatives are going to relimit government, or even halt the progress of Clinton's myriad of small welfare-state initiatives, they must convince the public that a government in a free society simply may not do certain things, even though some people would benefit from them. Affirmative action has benefited many people, proponents of racial preferences contend. The best response to this claim is not to deny it, but to ask, "So what?" It is wrong for the government to discriminate, therefore it should be proscribed from doing so.

This critique applies to many popular welfare-state initiatives, such as the recent debacle over raising the minimum wage, the violation by government of private-property rights, and intrusive education policies; conservatives must use it. Without a principled position, opponents of welfare-state programs easily yield to "yes, but": "*Yes*, I realize that all 212 federal job-training programs have been complete failures up to this point, *but* through careful study and the application of the latest social-science techniques, this latest one will succeed. Surely you don't deny there's a problem?"

The biggest danger facing Republicans in the 105th Congress is that they will be unable to fend off Clinton's endless string of targeted welfare-state programs, from expanded family leave, scholarships for community college students, mandates on health-care companies, health care for children, and so on. Aiding Clinton's cause is a sympathetic media establishment and a citizenry eager to receive its slice of the government pie.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our best hope of relimiting government is, as Amherst College professor Hadley Arkes is fond of saying, to start using principles we didn't even know we had.

Sally C. Pipes is the president of the Pacific Research Institute, in San Francisco.

—John H. Fund—

At the presidential level, Republicans proved in 1996 that you can't beat the Michael Jordan of political candidates with a tired Washington insider whose communication skills predated television, or even radio. At the congressional level, Republicans demonstrated they still have a chance to become a true majority party if they can convince Americans they are problem solvers and not merely stingy accountants obsessed with shrinking the federal fisc. We live in a post-partisan environment where it is difficult for a party to retain brand-name loyalty. Exit polls and the outcomes of various popular initiatives show the electorate often supports Republican solutions so long as they aren't identified with the GOP (as when Californians rejected higher tax rates on the rich while backing color-blind government).

Republicans need to show they really are for smaller government by abolishing the scandal-ridden Department of Commerce. Not only is the agency a slush fund for corporate welfare, but it also exemplifies the heart of campaign-finance scandals, which is the power of Washington to direct economic outcomes. Conservatives must also push to expand the concept of medical savings accounts that got a foot in the health-care door last year. The failures of the 104th Congress were writ in stone the day the Republicans decided not to take control of the Congressional Budget Office and Joint Tax Committee and adjust the ways they calculate budgetary and tax issues. They will continue to limit their liability to govern to the extent they leave the Congressional number-crunchers alone.

I worry that Republicans will try to bridge the gender gap by throwing many of their long-held principles into it. It's one thing to rethink how best to communicate why a smarter, smaller government can improve women's lives. It's quite another to buy Bill Clinton's salami-slice increases in state power because they fear the wrath of soccer moms and waitress moms. A majority of white women and married women voted Republican for Congress. There is no reason for panic on gender.

Unions—especially the teacher-monopolies that control public education—must be confronted. The last election proved they can't be placated. Congressional hearings and commissions must subpoena their records and expose how they spend their money. If just some of their members begin to publicly question where their dues are going, the unions' effectiveness in the 1998 elections and beyond can be curbed.

Finally, the GOP Congress must work even more closely with the 32 Republican governors to fashion legislation. Whether they cooperate and present a unified message to voters in the 1998 elections will dictate in large part if Republicans can cement and extend their grass-roots gains.

John H. Fund is a member of the editorial board of the* Wall Street Journal *and a contributor to MSNBC.

—John C. Goodman—

Two years ago, the Democratic Party was imploding. Democrats were losing elections almost everywhere. They even lost mayoral elections in Los Angeles, New York City, and Jersey City—places where there virtually are no Republicans. They had no platform and no agenda. They still have no platform and no agenda. Yet in 1996 they retained the White House, ran credible races for the U.S. House and Senate and gained 96 seats in state legislatures. How did this happen?

There are three lessons for the GOP: (1) Message trumps no message; (2) at the margin, the female vote can be won with rhetoric and small policy changes; and (3) a new kind of strategic liberalism has emerged from the Democrats' desperate attempt to regain power.

Congress should hold hearings and issue subpoenas to expose how labor unions spend their members' dues.
—John H. Fund

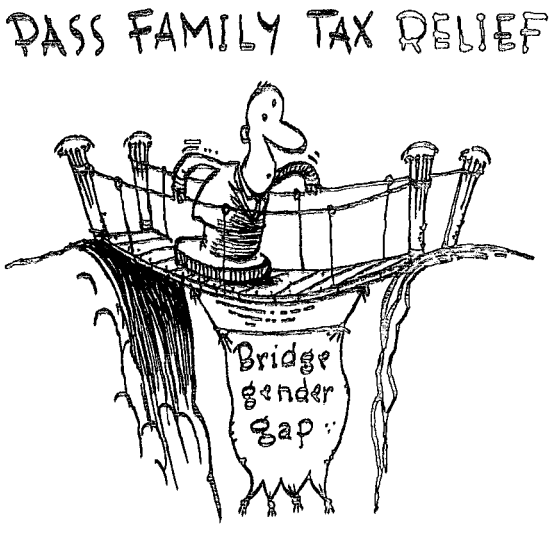
Message. When Americans entered the voting booths last November 5, everyone remembered the Democratic message: Republicans want to cut spending for Medicare, Medicaid, and education in order to lower taxes on the rich. Very few people could remember Bob Dole's message. Why? A simple idea repeated over and over again is easily remembered, whereas complex ideas, each explained in many different ways, are not.

Gender Gap. In the congressional elections, men favored Republicans by 9 percentage points; women favored Democrats by 10 points. Among suburbanites, men favored Republicans by 12 points; women favored Democrats by 6.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thus the gender gap can hurt either party. But Republicans must nevertheless be concerned. In 1996, many women who ordinarily might be expected to vote Republican (and whose husbands vote Republican) voted for a Democrat instead—perhaps supplying the margin of victory in many races. This tendency has deepened over time. Between 1992 and 1994, the preference for congressional Democrats grew from 6 to 10 percentage points among all women and switched from 6 points for Republicans to 6 points for Democrats among suburban women.

What explains the gender gap? Apart from differences between the two parties over abortion, Democratic candidates repeatedly used the words "children" and "education" at their convention and in their campaigns, and addressed other issues of special concern to women. By all rights, candidates who are beholden to teachers unions should not be viewed as friends of children. Yet Bill Clinton successfully campaigned as the pro-education candidate. By contrast, Bob



Dole's plan to abolish the U.S. Department of Education made him seem hostile to education.

Clinton promised more money for breast cancer research and Internet access in all schools. He signed legislation to allow women to stay in the hospital for two days after childbirth. (In focus groups, women indicated that the two-day mandate was one of the most important reasons why they preferred Clinton.) President Clinton and Democratic congressional candidates also highlighted issues over which the federal government has virtually no control, such as school uniforms and report cards for schools.

Strategic Liberalism. President Clinton may have declared that "the era of Big Government is over," but focus groups reveal that people do not equate health-insurance mandates with "Big Government." In this and in other areas, liberals have discovered that they can expand the power of government incrementally without appearing to be liberal, and can often woo women voters at the same time.

During the campaign, the president demonstrated his capacity to advance ideas inconsistent with his own past positions and inimical to key constituencies in order to gain electoral advantage. The mandate for two-day hospital stays is a perfect example. It is completely inconsistent with the HillaryCare plan of 1993, which sought to encourage everyone to join health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and to allow health-care specialists to make such decisions based on medical needs and cost effectiveness. The mandate also goes against the president's managed competition constituency.

This is a new kind of liberalism. The old liberalism was special-interest liberalism. One could predict the agenda of old liberalism based on the demands of its special-interest constituents. Strategic liberalism is much harder to predict. Counterstrategies are much harder to devise. Moreover, since strategic liberalism involves a new way of thinking, initiatives could come from younger members of Congress rather than the leadership. Expect strategic liberals to begin the 105th Congress with mandates of special interest to women: annual mammograms with no deductible; no deductible for mastectomies; annual pap smears with no deductible; checkups for children with no deductible.

The onslaught will continue, as special interests descend on the Capitol: chiropractors, naturopaths, acupuncturists, *in vitro* fertilization centers, et cetera. At the same time, the administration will push for KidCare—Hillary Clinton's health-care plan adapted for children.

Conservative Response. The conservative response to traditional liberalism has been a completely defensive strategy: resist and retreat, resist and retreat. This would be a disastrous response to strategic liberalism. Conservatives would die a death of a thousand cuts. After two years, marginal voters would come to believe that only liberal Democrats care about health care for women and children.

The conservative counterstrategy must couple the traditional commitment to such "conservative" issues as lower taxes, deregulation, and privatization with a focus on such "liberal" concerns as health, education, environment, pensions, and other issues of interest to women. In each area, conservatives must offer an aggressive, free-enterprise agenda for solving problems.

John C. Goodman is the president of the National Center for Policy Analysis, based in Dallas and Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—John J. Pitney Jr. —

In 1994, conservatives were in a biblical frame of mind. After 40 years in the wilderness, House Republicans were finally crossing into the promised land of majority status. The 1996 election should prompt another look at the Bible, particularly the 41st chapter of Genesis. After Pharaoh discloses his dream about healthy cows and ears of grain consuming sickly ones, Joseph interprets its meaning: Egypt will enjoy abundance, but a famine will follow. During the fat years, Joseph tells him, make preparations to survive the lean years.

For conservatives, a period of plenty probably lies in the near future. They should not assume that the abundance will last forever; instead they should prepare for serious challenges a few years beyond.

Things look fine right now. Perhaps even more significant than the GOP retention of Congress is the party's strength in statehouses. Republicans continue to hold 32 governorships, their highest level in a quarter century. Despite some recent losses in state legislatures, the GOP has held most of its 1994 gains. In Florida, Republicans now control both chambers in a Southern state for the first time since Reconstruction.

So just when power is starting to flow from Washington to the states, Republicans are waiting at the receiving end. Furthermore, GOP strength at the state level translates into a much deeper reserve of congressional candidates.

The GOP will probably do even better in 1998. In 33 of the past 34 midterm elections, the party holding the presidency has lost ground in the House. The historical pattern has been less consistent in the Senate, but Republican prospects look especially bright this time. They hold half of the 34 seats up in 1998, and only a couple of GOP incumbents face trouble. Meanwhile, Republicans could even beat several Democrats, especially extreme liberals such as Barbara Boxer of California. Early signs favor Republicans in state races as well.

The political community knows all about these trends, which makes the GOP's situation even cheerier. Access-hungry PACs will give heavily to Republicans. Many frustrated Democrats will retire, thereby opening a number of seats to strong Republican challenges.

Some optimistic conservatives have thus concluded that the GOP can expect a generation of political dominance. They should take another look at the 1996 returns, which offer clear signs of future trouble. In 1996, Republican House candidates got only 27 percent of the Latino vote nationwide. Previous elections yielded similar results, but the Latino electorate is growing in size and importance. Preliminary results suggest an increase in Latino turnout in 1996, at least in certain districts. The Clinton administration speeded up the naturalization of Latino resident aliens, and Democrats mounted a drive to get the new citizens to register and vote.

By 2025, says the Census Bureau, the number of Latinos will double from the current 27 million, accounting for 44 percent of the country's population growth. Not all will vote, but this dramatic demographic change will inevitably leave its mark at the polling booth. And if Democrats hold on to three-quarters of the Latino electorate, Republicans will have a growing problem.

Another trouble sign is regional. In the 1996 elections, the Northeast gave all of its electoral votes to Bill Clinton and accounted for two-thirds of the Democratic gains in the House. Among New England legislatures, Republicans control only New Hampshire, and they cling to the New York Senate only through gerrymandering. If Republicans begin to falter elsewhere, the Northeast will supply the Democrats with a firm base for revival.

Just when power is starting to flow from D.C. to the states, Republicans are waiting on the receiving end.
—John J. Pitney Jr.

In the 105th Congress, conservatives must begin a serious, long-term effort to counter such trends. They should take great care with their rhetoric: While adhering to a principled stand against illegal immigration, they must emphasize repeatedly that they are not criticizing Latinos who have arrived by lawful means. Through both legislative proposals and partisan communications, they must explain to Latinos how free-market policies benefit people who, like them, are climbing the economic ladder.

For the ecologically sensitive Northeast, conservatives need to develop the doctrine of free-market environmentalism. During the 104th Congress, Republicans stumbled when they attacked the EPA bureaucracy without explaining how they would replace command-and-control regulation with market incentives. Many voters concluded that Republicans were pro-pollution, not pro-reform. Now Republicans must show that cutting red tape does not mean befouling blue skies.

These efforts will require patience. Fortunately, conservatives have enough time, provided they remember what Joseph told Pharaoh.

John J. Pitney Jr. is an associate professor of government at Claremont McKenna College, in Claremont, California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

— Robert L. Woodson —

Republican victories in the House and Senate would seem to indicate that the American people are moving in a conservative direction. Conservatives cannot assume, however, that a vote for Republicans is a mandate for their ideological agenda. They should remember that in exit polls during the 1994 elections, only 13 percent of voters surveyed said they had voted *for* Republicans. More than half had simply voted *against* Democrats. In truth, the election of 1994 was not a mandate for a Republican or conservative agenda, but an *opportunity* to develop a mandate. After that election, conservatives should have listened to the concerns of the American people. Instead, they became as insensitive to their constituents as the liberals they had replaced. It is clear, for instance, that the American people want smaller, more cost-effective government, but they didn't elect Congress to shut the government down.

Though conservatives are right in critiquing liberal policies, they must go beyond the role of opposition to offer a competing vision, communicated through powerful symbols. Time and again, liberals have defended a government-dominated agenda in the name of "saving the children." This is the political equivalent of child abuse. In fact, liberal policies have always focused on custodianship, usurping the roles of the family and community that provide a natural and sustainable system of support. They have, in effect, sentenced our nation's low-income children to a lifetime of dependency on government help.

The conservative alternative cannot rely on ideological arguments about the excesses of government. We need a new vision to resurrect the family and the neighborhood as the primary support network for children—as well as for adults in need. Such initiatives as the Community Renewal Act, parental choice in education, and charitable tax credits have been important steps in this direction.

Conservatives can learn a great deal from grassroots community leaders who embody conservative principles and values in their daily efforts to reclaim and revitalize their neighborhoods. One such example is Alverta Munlyn, a resident of a low-income neighborhood in Washington, D.C., where city services are notoriously inadequate.

Although a city-run health center, which operates at a cost of $1.6 million a year, is just blocks away from Alverta's neighborhood, it has not met the medical needs of her community. Several elderly women have had their legs amputated because their diabetes went uncontrolled. One woman who was fearful that a lump in her breast might be cancerous was told that she would have to wait months to see a doctor. The clinic sometimes runs out of the insulin and syringes needed to treat diabetics and, at times, has been unable to deliver blood and urine samples to the city's medical lab because no drivers were available. The infant mortality rate, often considered a barometer of the health of a community, is four times the national average.

Alverta could not sit by as her neighborhood suffered. She developed a plan for alternative health care—a community-owned and operated clinic—and took steps to enact it. Networking with two private hospitals, Alverta secured the services of doctors as well as the use of their medical labs, X-ray facilities, and pharmacies. A site for a new clinic was chosen in an abandoned school building in the center of the neighborhood. Munlyn organized her neighbors, who raised $3 million, to prepare the building. The cost of operating this community health-care facility was projected to be one-third that of the existing clinic, saving the cash-strapped city $1 million a year.

Liberals defend their policies as "saving the children." This is the political equivalent of child abuse.
—Robert L. Woodson

With support from residents and city officials alike, Alverta's dream seemed close to being realized. But then it hit a roadblock: the unions of the city's service providers. A spokesperson for the 260 doctors who work for the city government warned that the clinic might interfere with plans to create a "public benefits corporation," and a labor leader from the union for city workers declared that such a clinic would result in a loss of jobs. Just two weeks after all players had signed on to this creative proposal to improve health care for the neighborhood, city officials changed their minds and blocked the health-care facility project.

Conservatives need to make common cause with America's Alverta Munlyns. How much more powerful their arguments for the devolution of resources and authority will be when they stand side by side with grassroots leaders and declare, "Here are the principles and values we promote, embodied and implemented by a resident of a low-income community." They need to market themselves in a way that will illustrate that point and will help the community.

Conservatives tend to argue that private is better than public. But the issue is not public vs. private. It is effective vs. ineffective. The effectiveness often lessens as its size and its distance from the people it serves increases. Large private

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

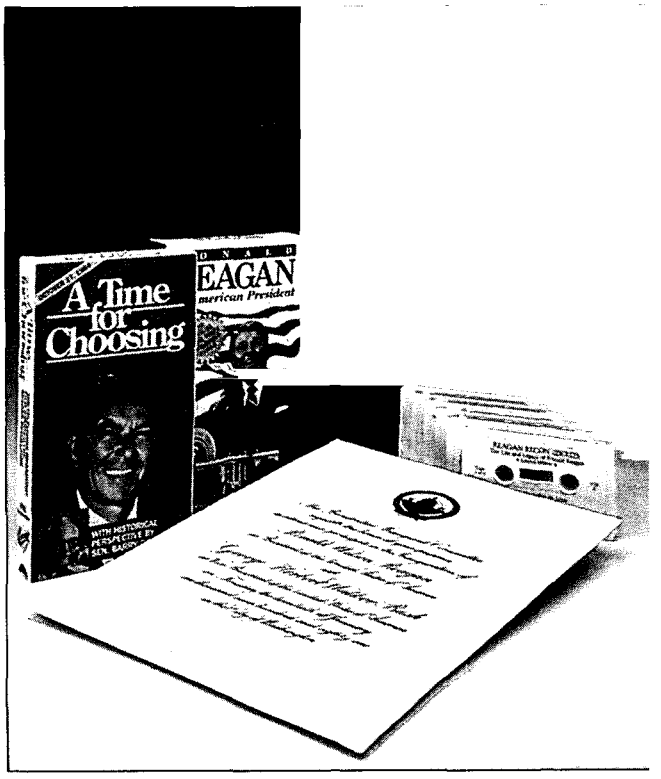
Ronald Wilson Reagan: A Tribute

A Limited Edition Audio and Video Collector's Set can be yours

This handsome, limited-edition Audio and Video Collector's Set offers you the most comprehensive and authoritative account to date of Ronald Reagan's life and career. Better yet, it allows you to *relive* — through rare archival audio and video recordings — the dramatic highlights of Reagan's most memorable speeches and public appearances.

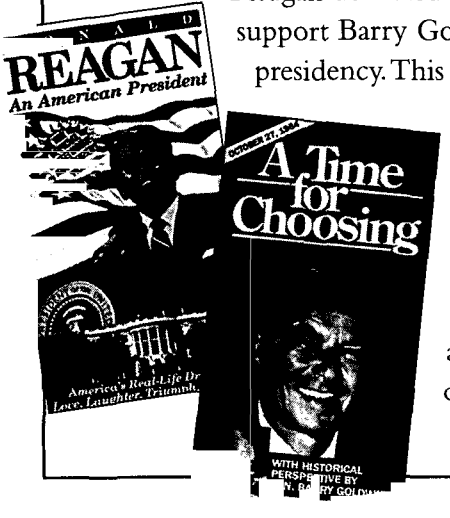
On audiotape: a complete Reagan biography

Reagan Reconsidered is the brainchild of James C. Roberts, President of Radio America. Only recently completed, this comprehensive overview of Ronald Reagan's life, career and legacy is compiled from in-depth interviews with more than 100 of the people who knew Reagan best. Narrated by Emmy-award-winning broadcaster Jeffrey St. John, it consists of 12 half-hour programs — each professionally recorded, mixed, mastered and edited onto six broadcast-grade audiocassettes.



Featured throughout: Highlights from every important speech of Reagan's political career; audio excerpts and recollections from Reagan's career as radio announcer, movie star, union leader and TV personality; Reagan's personal, spoken recollections of key moments in his life and career, as only he can recount them; spoken recollections of those who knew Reagan best — family members, friends, biographers, advisors, Cabinet members, allies — even political foes.

On videotape: <u>two</u> great Reagan documentaries



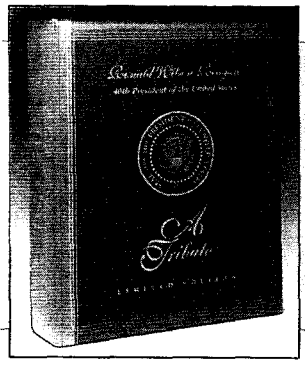
A Time for Choosing is named for the electrifying speech Reagan delivered on October 27, 1964, to support Barry Goldwater's 1964 bid for the presidency. This videotape contains the complete, unedited television broadcast of the speech, recorded from rare archival footage. It also includes commentary by Goldwater himself, who credits the speech with launching Reagan's own political career.

Ronald Reagan: An American President documents the most memorable moments of the Reagan years with hundreds of video clips, some private. This is the only authorized video documentary of the Reagan presidency, and has already become one of the most popular presidential collector's items.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE BONUS: Actual Invitation to Reagan Inauguration

With your audio and videotapes you'll also receive an original invitation to the Inauguration of President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George Bush on January 20, 1981. *This is the genuine article, not a facsimile or reproduction.*



Limited Edition

Only 2500 sets of *Ronald Wilson Reagan: A Tribute* were commissioned. None will be sold in stores. Each includes a signed and hand-numbered Certificate of Authenticity, and is packaged in a custom-manufactured, Presidential Blue, library-style portfolio for elegant display and proper safekeeping.

No-Risk Guarantee

We are confident that your Limited Edition Audio and Video Collector's Set, *Ronald Wilson Reagan: A Tribute,* will renew your appreciation for our 40th President of the United States. But if for some reason you are not completely satisfied with this unique collection, simply return it within 30 days for a full refund — no questions asked.

Reservation Certificate

Ronald Wilson Reagan: A Tribute

Audio and Video Collector's Set

☑ ***Yes!*** I want to own a Limited Edition Audio and Video Collector's Set, *Ronald Wilson Reagan: A Tribute.* I understand that my set is part of a limited edition and will be accompanied by a numbered Certificate of Authenticity. Please be sure to include my FREE original invitation to President Reagan's 1981 Inauguration.

❑ Ship me _____ *Ronald Wilson Reagan: A Tribute* Limited Edition portfolio(s) at $99 each. I am adding $6.00 for shipping, handling and insurance for each portfolio.

❑ Enclosed is my check or money order for $_____.
(Payable to Human Events Publishing, Inc. MD and DC residents must add 6% sales tax.)

or

❑ Please charge my:

❑ Visa ❑ MasterCard ❑ American Express ❑ Discover
in the amount of $_____.

CC# _____ Exp. Date _____

Daytime Phone _____

Signature _____

Ship To:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

PR1215

For Faster Service, call 1-800-787-7557

Mail all orders to: Human Events Publishing, Inc. • Dept. 15RRLS • 422 First Street, S.E. • Washington, D.C. 20003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

charities, large private hospitals, and educational institutions can be just as indifferent and insensitive as large government. Conservatives should be in the front line, pushing devolution from large institutions to individuals and community-based civic organizations. In return for the support they offer, they will enjoy greater moral authority, because the grassroots leaders with whom they partner are the embodiment of the principles for which they stand.

When conservatives can stand shoulder to shoulder with grassroots leaders and design their programs in accord with a practical problem-solving neighborhood initiatives, then they will deserve popular support. Otherwise, they will not, and should not, get that support.

Robert L. Woodson is the president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, in Washington, D.C.

—— Kay Bailey Hutchison ——

In his new book, James Michener writes about the predictable course of civilizations. He cites eight states of existence: genesis, exploration, accomplishment, expansion, and then loss of courage, contraction, loss of mobility, and decline. This framework builds upon Will and Ariel Durant's warning in 1944 that "a great civilization is not conquered from without until it has destroyed itself from within. The essential causes of Rome's decline lay in her people, her morals, her class struggle, her failing trade, her bureaucratic disposition, her stifling taxes, her consuming wars."

America, this is our wakeup call. I believe Americans are listening, but are confused by what they see.

In the last two elections, voters have shown their support for a conservative agenda: rolling back government, reasserting traditional values, ensuring economic opportunity for all, and lifting the heavy burden of bureaucracy and regulation from our entrepreneurs. They thought that both President Clinton and Republican members of Congress offered these conservative ideals.

President Clinton did, in fact, cherry-pick our ideas and principles and make them his own. Whether it's family values, law and order, lower taxes, a balanced budget or government accountability, voters in 1996 validated the so-called "extremist" agenda of the 104th Congress. The 105th Congress must seize this national momentum toward less government and more freedom.

I remain concerned, though, that we have yet to address the more difficult challenge outlined by Michener. We cannot reassert our principles at home without coming to grips with our global policies.

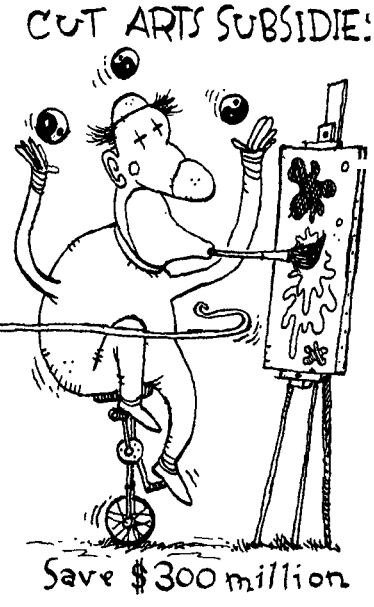
As we approach the 21st century, Bill Clinton has yet to set a foreign policy. The Clinton era has been marked by inordinate attention to far-flung places like Mogadishu, Somalia; Port au Prince, Haiti; and Sarajevo, Bosnia, while the future of our children depends on what happens in Tokyo, Bonn, London, Paris, Moscow, Mexico City, and Beijing.

Conservatives must help anchor our country's foreign policy to principles of stability, predictability, and a clear vision of what the world's lone superpower should do. Some conservatives see us in a defensive crouch—afraid to compete because we are doomed to lose. These conservatives favor trade protectionism, withdrawal from our overseas commitments, and isolationism.

I reject that vision. Our challenge is to establish a foreign and defense policy that is consistent with a bold, confident America not in retreat, as Michener warns, but standing tall astride the globe, expansive but not expansionist. Fundamental to such a policy is knowing when to put American lives at risk. Answering this question is the first step toward defining a coherent national security policy. Absent that, we lapse into an increasingly dangerous pattern: reinventing our national security policies, issue by issue, crisis by crisis.

We must develop a systematic policy for U.S. engagement, so that our actions in a crisis will be predictable for both our allies and our detractors. President Richard Nixon established that the United States would commit its military forces overseas:

- To honor treaty commitments;
- To provide a nuclear umbrella to protect the world from weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical, or biological);
- To supply weapons and technical assistance to other countries where warranted—but not commit American forces to local conflicts;
- To protect American citizens in a crisis.



Together with former Secretary

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Defense Caspar Weinberger's doctrine of how to deploy force—overwhelmingly and confidently—these principles form a good foundation for a 21st-century security policy. Desert Shield and Desert Storm were based on these convictions.

Yet President Bush's great victory stands in stark contrast to the way his successor has managed the civil war in Bosnia. Neither our allies nor our adversaries know what to expect of the United States. This vacuum of unpredictability pulled us into Bosnia. Our policy did not create the vacuum; the vacuum created the U.S. policy. We allowed others to set conditions for American leadership, and we ended up placing thousands of American troops in an area where we have no security interests. We must distinguish between a U.S. interest, which we do have in Bosnia, and a U.S. security interest, which we do not. Deployment of troops should hinge on the latter not the former.

Choice in education will spread until, like the Berlin Wall, the government monopoly collapses. —Pete du Pont

Integral to our conservative vision of engagement in the world must be a trade policy that is also continually advancing. NAFTA and GATT are good first steps, but there is more to be done. The future of our global leadership depends on free trade, and this administration's record is meager. We must strengthen the Western Hemispheric trade alliance and commit to an hemispheric free-trade agreement by the end of the century. Why not engage Japan and China with free and fair trade, instead of managing our trade relationships issue by issue, product by product? No engine of economic growth is more powerful than trade. It is waiting to be engaged.

Finally, we have always helped victims of disaster—natural and man-made, and we should continue to do so. But we must distinguish between humanitarian efforts and national security interests, between our commitment to peace for others and our commitment to strength for our children's future.

America is obligated to continue to inspire democracy in other countries, as we have done for more than two centuries. We will accomplish this by promoting our virtues, expanding commerce through trade, and vigorously identifying and defending our vital interests, not by needlessly sacrificing our sons and daughters or draining our resources in ankle-biting civil wars.

This is our duty as Americans. And this must be our vision in Congress as we take the helm of America's journey into the new millennium.

Kay Bailey Hutchison, a Republican, is a senator from Texas.

—— Pete du Pont ——

History will record the failure of the Democrats to win back control of either House of Congress as the story of the 1996 elections. Conservatives have successfully repelled the liberal counterattack following the 1994 elections, and on many fronts actually gained strength. Traditional Democratic liberalism is moribund.

Conservatives actually gained strength in many areas. In the U.S. Senate, conservatives gained seven seats, including Jeff Sessions of Alabama, Mike Enzi of Wyoming, and two from Kansas. In spite of the loss of 67 state legislative seats and control of some legislative houses, the party's gains of more than 600 state legislative seats in the last two years are essentially intact.

In the 90 or so referenda around the country, conservatives won, too. The California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI) leads the list, and tough tax limitations passed in half a dozen states while green initiatives failed. And it's no accident that the only two successful Democratic presidential candidates in the second half of the 20th century—Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton—were Southerners who campaigned as the most conservative of the candidates in the Democratic primaries, and then ran moderate-conservative presidential campaigns. President Clinton got elected in 1992 as the candidate of the middle-class income-tax cut who would "end welfare as we know it." In 1996, he wanted to balance the budget, fight crime, and end teenage drug abuse.

So where to from here? Congress will likely begin by presenting the President with legislation that, at one time or another, he has supported. The middle-class tax cut is a prime candidate for prompt action. Fighting teenage drug abuse is another. In 1996, all the candidates talked about crime. It remains to be seen whether something can be done about it at the federal level without repeating the problems of the last crime bill. Continued, careful progress toward a balanced budget and regulatory reform are also good bets.

Liberals, frustrated with the political success of the "leave us alone" coalition, will probably eschew costly new governmental programs and embrace employer mandates and other indirect methods of satisfying their constituencies. Liberals will try to achieve their social objectives through employer mandates in the health-care arena as well as through the regulation of telecommunications and energy. Another danger is Jesse Jackson's suggestion at the Democrat National Convention that if only 5 percent of the $6 trillion in private pension funds could be tapped, social activists could reap a $300 billion

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

windfall. Employers and employees, watch your pension funds!

Besides conservative legislative successes, the elections of 1994 and 1996 will also encourage individual freedom, private solutions, and local responsibility to deal with our nation's challenges in the next two years. Already educational-choice initiatives and experiments are flourishing throughout the country. Educational-choice programs will continue until eventually, like the Berlin Wall, the government monopoly of our children's education will collapse into rubble—and with it the teachers unions.

Nor is it any longer impossible to contemplate the first baby steps toward moving our nation's government retirement system slowly toward to a more private system. Over the next four years, these steps will comprise expansion of IRAs and 401(k)s and tax benefits for private systems. As this shift occurs, the next generation of Americans will realize that there is a better way to plan for their retirement than relying on the government. They will be its strongest supporters.

A final prediction: Eventually the U.S. Postal Service will also be stripped of its monopoly and replaced by a more private system.

And what will be the legacy of the first Democratic president re-elected since Franklin Roosevelt? If he can avoid the perils of Whitewater, it seems a good bet that Clinton's finely honed political instincts will tell him which way the wind blows, and history will say, "Oh, he was there, too."

Pete du Pont is the editor of IntellectualCapital.com, the first online interactive public policy magazine.

—— William A. Niskanen ——

Conservatives should understand the following lessons from the 1996 elections: American voters (and the stock market) *prefer* divided government. For 30 of the past 50 years, at least one house of Congress has been controlled by a different party than that of the president, and this pattern will now continue for at least two more years. Most voters, I suggest, do not wholly trust either major party and prefer those policy outcomes that require a bipartisan agreement to those approved by a partisan majority.

The election strengthened the *status quo* distribution of political power. President Clinton was re-elected. The Republicans won a few seats in the Senate and lost a few seats in the House. There was no change in the number of state governors by party. The conservative-libertarian shift reflected in the 1994 election was neither repudiated nor strengthened; the voters are willing to give conservatives another chance but not an unlimited line of credit.

A final lesson is more a consequence of the passage of time than of the election: Almost all the old-guard Republican senators have now retired. The new Republican leaders in the Senate are younger, more conservative, and more like their counterparts in the House. This should make it easier to coordinate Republican policy positions and tactics between the House and the Senate.

Strategy for the 105th Congress should be based on a recognition *that the 104th Congress was unusually successful.* Congress approved several important reforms of congressional procedures that were part of the Contract With America and are likely to survive: subjecting Congress to laws that apply to other employers, limiting unfunded mandates, granting the president a line item veto, and establishing a process for reviewing and blocking major new regulations. The 104th Congress also approved the most important substantive legislation in 60 years affecting agriculture, telecommunications, and welfare. This record should prove that divided government is not a barrier to substantial reform. Conservatives made their major recent mistakes when they abandoned their principles to resolve some ephemeral crisis or to avoid controversy in the rush to adjourn.

Strategists for the 105th Congress should note the unusual success of the 104th. —William A. Niskanen

My list of issues that the 105th Congress should address is too long to summarize briefly; those who are interested can read the new *Cato Handbook for Congress.* I do have a short list, however, of measures that conservatives should *not* initiate:

1. Do not initiate a Medicare reform proposal. Clinton has fouled his own nest on this issue; let him sort this program out on his own without the cover of a bipartisan commission.

2. Do not press the social conservative agenda. Most of these issues can and should be sorted out by state and local governments.

3. Do not initiate new hearings on old scandals. Let special counsel Kenneth Starr and the courts deal with these charges. The authority of Congress to hold hearings on the behavior of public officials is more valuable as a club in the closet. Try a cooperative strategy first; it might be productive, and you don't really want to deal with a President Gore.

The 1996 election set the stage for continued progress on the conservative agenda. I worry

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more about missed opportunities than setbacks. I doubt if Clinton will propose any major new domestic initiative; the danger of a misconceived foreign venture is much greater. The conservatives' biggest challenge is capturing the moral high ground from those who exhibit compassion by spending other people's money, from those who propose an expansion of government power in response to almost any perceived problem.

William A. Niskanen is the chairman of the Cato Institute, in Washington, D.C., and a former economic advisor to President Reagan.

Cal Thomas

If conservatives are serious about reducing the cost and size of government, we must ask ourselves how government came to be so large and so expensive in the first place. The answer is that many conservatives were as happy as liberals to cede to government what had been the primary responsibility of individuals and charities.

Every study I've seen suggests that the premier problems in America are not economic and political, but moral and spiritual. Their solutions will not be found inside the Beltway, but inside the human heart. In fact, putting American families back together again would do more to solve social ills and reduce government's size and cost than any other proposal I've heard.

So what's a conservative to do following a mixed-message election?

First, the congressional Republican majority must seize from Democrats the compassion issue, which has allowed them to denounce even reductions in spending increases as insensitive to grandmothers and little children. To do this, Republican leaders should call a summit meeting with the nation's religious leaders asking them to reclaim their former (even God-mandated) role of feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and visiting those in prison. The clergy should be given lists of those local families and individuals receiving public assistance and encouraged to begin the process of redemption in those lives. Marvin Olasky's *The Tragedy of American Compassion* could serve as a textbook for those who don't recall how religiously based societies fought poverty a century ago.

Nothing will kill liberalism and its costly programs quicker than a reduction in the perceived need for such programs. And nothing will rekindle compassion in people's hearts more quickly than a chance to help another person rebuild his or her life. Reducing the need for programs should at least parallel, if not precede, reducing the programs. Otherwise, Democrats will accuse Republicans of lacking compassion and reprise the battle over Medicare reform. When compassion is the issue, Democrats always win. But if the need for the welfare state is diminished, Republicans can cut programs and get credit for proper stewardship of the taxpayers' money.

Next, Republicans should continue to explain that the reason so many families earn two incomes is that one parent works to support the family while the other must pay the family tax bill. Bob Dole tried to sell that message during his campaign, but he was a poor salesman. The message, however, remains a good one—if it is not seen as selfishness.

Freeing families from their huge tax burden would expand choices and opportunities and relieve some of the pressures that sometimes lead to divorce or neglect of the children. Such a policy could quickly close the "gender gap."

The 104th Congress suffered from nearsightedness. The Republican majority was so excited about the end of 40 years of wandering in the political wilderness that its exuberance overwhelmed sound judgment. Great social movements take time, but the GOP majority treated change like fast food when it should have found the time and ingredients necessary for a gourmet meal. Or, to use another metaphor, after four decades submerged under the welfare state, the conservative agenda rose too fast and suffered the political equivalent of the bends.

The biggest danger in a second Clinton term is the fate of the Supreme Court. Liberalism's worst excesses have come through the federal judiciary, not the legislative branch. The congressional majority should apply "strict scrutiny" to the records of Clinton nominees. A high rating from the American Bar Association is no reason for automatic confirmation, especially if the nominee's rulings favor Big Government at a time when voters want to reduce its size and cost.

Freeing families from their enormous tax burden could quickly close the "gender gap."
—Cal Thomas

Above all, Republicans must keep the public informed about what they are doing. Never again should they wait too long to respond to Democrat lies, distortions, and demagoguery. In addition to appearances on the regular news shows with their slanted questioners, Republicans should get their message out through year-round advertising on TV and in newspapers, pounding it home over the defenses of a hostile media, a disingenuous and sometimes lying Democratic leadership, and a shameless president.

Since the New Deal era, liberals have peddled a perverted form of the 23rd Psalm: The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government is my keeper, I shall not want. Yeah, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of poverty, the Health and Human Services department is there, comforting me with food stamps and AFDC payments.

Republicans should counter this from the bottom up, highlighting success stories and role models and encouraging others to emulate good behavior. Congress might experiment with incentives in the form of tax credits or outright cash gifts to companies and individuals who succeed in relieving government of the burdens of maintaining a welfare state.

Congress cannot do any of this alone. The conservative movement should ask something of every American—but without using the word "sacrifice." We are investing in our future and our children's future, not with more money, but with more of ourselves.

Cal Thomas is a syndicated columnist.

—— Tod Lindberg ——

Americans are deeply divided between two competing visions of government. One of them, clearly, is conservative—limited government, deregulation, decentralization, lower taxes, and reduced government spending together forming a sometimes uneasy alliance with conservative positions on "social issues." The other vision is not easily characterized, partly because it is not yet fully formed. It is not liberalism—liberalism cannot speak its name in American politics today. But neither is it liberalism-in-disguise, as many conservatives apparently believe. Elements of both the honest and the veiled liberalism survive, but their influence has diminished. The Democratic Party today not only wishes to be seen as having moved to the right; it *has* moved to the right. But that does not mean it has moved into anything like conservative territory.

The trouble behind. The most conspicuous failure of the 104th Congress was its irresistible impulse to set its actions in a broader context. There is nothing wrong, and much right, about cutting taxes, cutting spending, deregulating, and so on. People like those things fine all by themselves. It is not necessary to try to persuade them that these changes are the Third Wave, or that they are consistent with libertarian philosophy, or that the streets should run red with the blood of counterrevolutionaries. Republicans had become so persuaded that they were speaking to Everyman's real concerns—and they were, by the way—that they imagined that they were doing so every time they opened their mouths. In this remarkably honest period in American politics, there was occasionally such a thing as too much candor. This is a case not for dishonesty, but for less matter and more art.

The trouble ahead. It is impossible to know what legislation President Clinton might sign. Some have advocated waiting for him to make the first move on controversial issues like Medicare reform, so that Republicans won't take it on the chin in the realm of public opinion. This may work in some areas, but it lets Clinton pick the space he will work in.

The Democratic Party has moved to the right. But that does not mean it has moved into conservative territory.
—Tod Lindberg

Far better to let a hundred flowers bloom on the Republican side. Legislate, legislate, legislate. Keep sending him tax cuts until he finally likes one well enough to sign it, and then send him the rest anyway. There are, to be sure, certain practical obstacles, such as the senate filibuster wielded by Minority Leader Tom Daschle. But idle hands are the devil's workshop, so Republicans ought to busy themselves on Republican things.

The danger for conservatives is that Bill Clinton and Al Gore may delineate and capture a political space somewhere to the right of the Left but to the left of the Right, and that this space contains enough votes to allow Democrats to rebuild a majority coalition. The new Democratic policy agenda is unlikely to contain anything like government-guaranteed health insurance, huge stimulus packages, or massive job-training programs. The more likely model for Democrats is the Family and Medical Leave Act—a program that is mandate-laden but unbureaucratic, pitched to middle-class concerns, and much harder to attack than massive programs like ClintonCare.

The best way to avoid that trap, once again, is to keep Republicans at work on Republican things. If a united Democratic congressional caucus and White House reach across the aisle to Republicans more often than Republicans reach across to Democrats, then conservatism is in trouble.

Tod Lindberg is the editorial page editor of **The Washington Times.**

—— Don Eberly ——

The electorate, sometimes a brutal tutor, has been kind to the Republicans. The lesson of the 1996 election is that the American people generally support the direction the party is traveling in, but are worried about

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the driving. Don't change direction, they are saying, your policies are sensible and necessary. But slow down and navigate more carefully. This republic is not the land of revolutionary jihads.

Three areas require attention: mindset, message, and messenger. Republicans must think and talk in the language, not of revolution, but of governmental reform and social renaissance. The past two years proved just how natural is the impulse among conservatives to oppose rather than propose. For decades, this tendency was well honed through the daily practice of confronting the totalitarian state abroad and the welfare state at home. The former is now functionally gone, the latter is at least ideologically spent.

The challenge now is to create something new—a humane and viable American society. The resuscitation of society is dramatically different work than the demolition of government. A society ravaged by cultural decay and social regression needs a politics of persuasion and prudence. Republicans must quickly evolve from political wrecking balls to architects of a prudently redesigned federal system and a revived civil society.

All this requires a different message. To use a football analogy, American politics is played between the 40-yard lines. The greatest gains for conservatism came in convincing the country that liberals had pulled America and the Democratic party too far to the left. These converts to conservatism were not looking to replace the ideological stridency of the Left with a rigid triumphalism of the Right. What they wanted was nonideological common sense, which is what conservatism has historically been about.

The resuscitation of society is dramatically different work than the demolition of government.
—Don Eberly

At stake is nothing less than a realignment that favors conservative ideas. America will be governed from neither the Left nor Right, but from the middle, albeit a middle dramatically redefined by conservatism. On a host of domestic policy issues—welfare, crime, affirmative action, taxes, and decentralization—today's center was yesterday's Right. Properly guided, these trends can be guided toward more important reforms, from downsizing government to voucherizing housing and health care to privatizing retirement programs.

Finally, regarding the messenger, Republicans must think generationally. Half of Clinton's advantage was generational—he embodied the *Zeitgeist* of the Baby Boomers, and to a lesser extent of Generation Xers. For the vast majority of the new electorate, the complexity and diversity of life obscures core certainties. The great temptation in an age of complexity is nostalgia. If the conceit of the Left is that it often ignores the past, the folly of some on the Right is thinking we can live in the past.

The Republican party should skip a generation or two in its leadership to bring up talented women, minorities, and young people. To think that Republicans can govern for long on the Anglo vote alone is fantasy. The party must find a way to connect its principles to the aspirations of new generations and emerging constituencies. Hence the party would be unwise to nominate anyone over the age of 55 in the next presidential campaign.

The greatest legislative priority of the new Congress must be entitlement reform. Republicans need to seize the historic moment to craft a bipartisan package to reform Medicare and Social Security. This is both a moral imperative and a political opportunity. There is a new antientitlement constituency forming, led by Generation X, which is deeply concerned about the crushing burden of debt it will carry. Entitlement politics are already beginning to shift as politicians are forced to pay greater attention to this emerging generation.

Republicans must also address the threat that judicial review poses to constitutional balance. Increasingly, the courts have arrogated to themselves the power to decide controversial moral and political questions. The result has been a serious erosion of self-government and of the credibility of the judiciary. To avoid a constitutional crisis, we will need to restore judicial restraint. This might well require congressional action to limit the jurisdiction of the federal courts. Ultimately, the success of such efforts will depend upon increased conservative influence in America's culture-forming institutions, particularly the academy and the legal profession.

Finally, we must recognize that many of our urgent national problems can't be solved through legislative fiat. Our efforts instead should be directed toward facilitating the efforts of citizens to solve problems at the local level. For example, Republicans need to develop and refine policies which encourage local involvement and private charity. The nation is on the verge of a historic turn-of-the-century civic and moral transformation, promising to curb teen pregnancy, renew fatherhood, recover character, and inspire faith-based charity.

Republicans have been in the classroom, cramming for two years of tests in parliamentary skills that the other party perfected over 50 years. Confounding the naysayers, it has received pretty decent grades and is now poised to excel.

Don Eberly is a former White House aide, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

founder of several institutions for renewing civil society, and the author of **Restoring the Good Society.**

—— Thomas W. Carroll ——

The election of 1996 demonstrated that when candidates articulate and believe in a conservative agenda, they generally win. When candidates take contradictory positions on major issues and convey with their every action that their positions are campaign props and not a reflection of their core beliefs, they generally lose. The American public clearly supports a conservative agenda of lower taxes, a balanced budget, and strong action against crime and drugs. The re-election of President Clinton is a testament to the essentially conservative message he adopted (tax cuts, balanced budget, welfare reform, school uniforms, et cetera), and to Bob Dole's implausible stand as a pro-growth presidential candidate.

In hindsight, it is clear that the crowning achievement of Republicans in the 104th Congress was the Contract With America. Their biggest mistake, however, was their failure to articulate a second Contract. Once the Contract votes were completed, congressional Republicans lost their momentum. And the GOP erred in selecting Medicare as the key issue of the 104th Congress. The Democrats were able to step into this vacuum with liberal issues such as health care and the minimum wage. Without a unified position, the Republicans were left looking defensive and divided.

Before he leaves, Clinton will have chosen 60 percent of the federal judiciary. —Paul M. Weyrich

Republicans must offer the public an agenda for the next two years. They would be wise to force President Clinton to offer a detailed Medicare rescue plan, but wait-and-see is not a sensible long-term strategy. The Republican agenda should include cutting taxes across the board, rolling back regulatory burdens that afflict small business and individuals, eliminating federal intrusion into education and the arts, combating drugs, and affirming the rights of parents.

As well, someone in Congress should step forward and defend the right of individuals to have fun. If adults enjoy smoking or drinking, let them. If we expect adults to sacrifice their lives on foreign soil and turn over half of their income to the government in taxes, they should at least be entitled to smoke if they so desire without fear of condemnation by the FDA or the president of the United States. Similarly, if someone likes to collect guns or hunt—or even wear fur coats, let them. It is, after all, a free country. Politicians should stand up to the politically correct. Fun-loving Americans across the nation would applaud.

Thomas W. Carroll is the president of Change New York.

—— Paul M. Weyrich ——

Perhaps the most troubling aspect of the 1996 election is that half of the registered voters didn't bother to show up. The 1996 elections saw the lowest percentage of voter turnout since 1924. That suggests that neither political party is connecting with the American public. Without recognizing it, both parties may already be on life-support systems. Most candidates refused to discuss the values-related issues that contributed to the large increase in turnout in 1994. Absent that, many voters saw little difference between the Republicans and the Democrats. Thus, when we hear about President Clinton's "mandate," it is helpful to keep in mind that only about 24 percent of the total eligible electorate voted him back into office.

Was Bob Dole's defeat inevitable as some of his supporters are now saying? The Zogby poll, the only one which was right on the money, suggested otherwise. A week before the election, Bill Clinton was attracting only 44 percent of the vote. Bob Dole was within striking distance. He simply didn't connect. Voters gave him every chance to tell them why he should be elected President instead of Bill Clinton. He never did so in a fashion that could be easily understood by the voters.

The election of 1996 is significant because it is the first time that Republicans have kept control of the Congress in back-to-back elections since 1928, and because Republicans held on to most of the ground they gained in state legislatures in the 1994 elections and subsequent defections by Democrats. It is extraordinary that Republicans lost only 67 state legislative seats nationwide (net), after gaining more than 600 seats from 1994 to 1996. Many of those losses were in New Hampshire's huge house of representatives, as well as in Vermont and Maine, so the actual number of chambers affected was relatively small.

The election results of 1994 were not, as the media contended, a fluke, and not likely to be reversed soon. Indeed, 1998 will be the six-year-itch of the Clinton administration. Throughout U.S. history (except during the Civil War, every party that occupies the White House over an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eight-year span suffers significant losses in the sixth year of that cycle. That means Republicans should be able to look forward to controlling the Congress at least until the year 2000. That fact alone will cause many older Democrats, who were used to power and who have been in limbo for the past two years, to throw in the towel in 1998. Republican opportunities will be legion, although the weakest Senate incumbents of both parties are up for re-election in 1998.

The 1996 elections have produced a more ideologically-polarized House and Senate. Newly-elected Republicans are more conservative than the retiring congressional incumbents they replace. Newly-elected Democrats are more liberal than their predecessors. As a result, fewer moderates remain in both chambers.

So now what comes next? So far, Republicans have behaved correctly since the election. It is time for Bill Clinton to take responsibility for governing the country. If he moves left, he will become again as unpopular as he was in his first term. If he moves right, he will enrage his base. Either way, Republicans would do well to make no moves until Clinton is forced to take a stand.

Organized labor is the big loser in the election. It spent a fortune (probably $300 million or more) to win back the Congress. It failed. The Religious Right saved the Republicans, but some in the GOP have already drawn the long knives to further disassociate the party from issues of concern to social conservatives. The Republican establishment risks precipitating a new party if they persist on alienating these conservatives.

Conservatives in Congress failed to remind Americans what they were doing and why they were doing it.
—Bob Williams

Our military continues to suffer greatly under the Clinton regime. We have been blessed by not having any world threats we can't handle. It is amazing that we got through the first four years of Clinton without a major collapse. If Clinton stretches American forces any thinner, however, that collapse is nigh.

The most dangerous outcome of the 1996 election is that by the time he leaves office, Bill Clinton will have had the opportunity to appoint nearly 60 percent of the federal judiciary (if he lasts the whole term, and I believe he will not). He may get to appoint three more Supreme Court justices. If so, the Clinton legacy will linger for more than another generation. Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott has warned Bill Clinton that he had better temper the sort of judges he is sending up for Senate confirmation. It will take only 41 of the 55 GOP Senators to block a confirmation.

And what of the Clinton scandals? Most Republicans are interpreting the elections as a message from voters to ease up on their investigations. I don't see it that way. Of course Republicans need to be careful how they go about their investigations, but I think it would be a dreadful mistake for the GOP to surrender this territory to Clinton.

Paul M. Weyrich is the president of the Free Congress Foundation, in Washington, D.C.

—— Bob Williams ——

Exactly what did this last election tell us about what the American people want? Half the American people—the nonvoters—didn't tell us directly what they want. But their indifference tells us that no one has reached their minds and hearts.

Half the people who did vote chose to reelect a moderate-sounding Bill Clinton because he is a man of the '90s and seems to understand us. But they retained a Republican House and Senate because the economy is doing pretty well and because President Clinton is a little loose with the truth and the national checkbook.

The American people don't want their entitlements axed, but neither do they want to pay for loafers on welfare. They want regulatory barriers lifted, but not if it means relaxing environmental standards.

Voters embraced a moderate to conservative campaign message. Gone were radical social policies and government-run health-care plans. Suddenly tax cuts were a good idea and the budget deficit could be reduced in less than 10 years. President Clinton was spouting lines like: "Families are the foundation of American life."

Voters heard a message they liked—a conservative message of tax cuts, balanced budgets, welfare reform, tough crime policies, education choices, family values, and neighborhood and personal charity—all items on the agenda of the 104th Congress.

So how did Bill Clinton replace his abysmal record with that of the 104th Congress? Conservative leaders in Congress failed to remind Americans in simple, compelling language, what they were doing and why they were doing it. They used the language of the head and forgot about the heart. Clinton co-opted the successes of the 104th Congress, got on his white horse, and took the high road to the White House, while his henchmen in Big Labor did the dirty work.

The lesson for the 105th Congress is that it was not the meat of the conservative message that troubled voters, but the presentation. The 105th Congress need not please everybody—just the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

majority of voters who sent conservative lawmakers back to Congress and sent a conservative-sounding president back to the White House.

Conservatives should call the president's bluff on his campaign promises. They should refuse to discuss compromises until Clinton offers the budget he discussed during the 1996 campaign. For example, the president said he would agree to balance the budget in seven years. This means the federal government will spend about a trillion fewer dollars between now and 2004. Conservatives should hold the president to his agreement.

If the 105th Congress wants to take big or controversial actions, like wiping out a whole federal department, it must do so early and completely. If, instead, the budget for an agency slated for the scrap heap is merely cut, special interests will the opportunity to mobilize against those "mean conservatives."

We can expect to see more of Bill Clinton's "triangulation" strategy—steering a course between conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats. If Republicans do not have a clear game plan, Clinton will get 75 percent of what he wants and conservatives will get 25 percent. Both will declare victory. Conservatives need a sensible agenda with a compassionate public face.

The 105th Congress can expect labor unions and liberals to seek government-run health care. A unified front of special interests will try to block entitlement cuts and a Balanced Budget Amendment. The payoff for labor's campaign spending will be pension "reform" and federal protection from independent contractors. Stronger environmental regulations will be proposed. The National Education Association will insist that the federal government use the public-education system to provide health care and day care for all preschool children.

Liberals are opening a can of worms. But conservatives can use worms to bait their own hooks.

Bob Williams, a former state legislator and a certified public accountant, is the president of the Evergreen Freedom Foundation, in Olympia, Washington.

—— Karen Kerrigan ——

In re-electing GOP majorities in both houses of Congress, the American people rejected the scare tactics of the Left and ratified its movement toward limited government. The Big Government coalition, however, will not disappear in the 105th Congress. The greatest menace to the conservative agenda over the next two years is the White House, aided by the Left's deft and well-funded demagoguery.

After seeing his grand health-care scheme go down in flames, while other initiatives such as the minimum-wage hike and the Kennedy-Kassebaum health-care reform sailed through the Congress, President Clinton and his allies will aim to expand government a little at a time. Instead of openly attempting to socialize health care or the workplace, for example, President Clinton will likely emerge during his second term as an "aggressive incrementalist."

"Aggressive incrementalism" remains the president's most practical option to appease the Democrat Party's left wing. It is a crafty way to avoid the label of "Big Government liberal" while offering to ease the life of middle-class families. These initiatives—mostly in the form of mandates on business—will be sold individually as little ways that employers should help their workers. But as most businesses know, the weight of all these "little ways" add up to big costs. Of course, any new mandate on business, especially in the area of workplace issues, presents a new opportunity for employment lawyers to exploit these foggy areas of the law. President Clinton gets a "twofer"—he pleases both Big Labor and the trial lawyers.

These incremental reforms include an expansion of the Family and Medical Leave Act; universal health insurance for children; a six-month health-care safety net for the "temporarily unemployed"; and a list of other health insurance requirements like mastectomies (following the recent law requiring 48-hour hospital stays for new mothers and mandating parity for mental-health coverage). And, of course, government agencies will move forward with their own aggressive rulemaking. From indoor-air quality to ergonomics and the like, Big Labor will be pushing government bureaucrats to micromanage our workplaces like never before.

The greatest menace to the conservative agenda is the White House, aided by the Left's demagoguery.
—Karen Kerrigan

President Clinton will likely move ahead with various executive orders to pay back key political supporters like labor and the environmental lobby. Chairman William Gould of the National Labor Relations Board will continue to act as a labor advocate rather than an impartial arbiter of labor law. For example, he will aggressively promote his "single-site organizing rule" to make it easier for unions to organize small businesses.

The aggressive incrementalists can be stopped. With the passage of the Congressional Review Act and the Small Business Regulatory Enforcement Fairness Act, regulatory agencies have been curbed on paper, but Congress needs

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to make sure the agencies are complying with the new laws. Congress must show due diligence to ensure that regulators are not operating uncontrollably (as they now are). If it fulfills its oversight function aggressively, Congress has the tools to slow down the pace of regulation.

Now that everyone "agrees" that government is too big, conservatives have a great opportunity to further cut government spending. Corporate welfare is the perfect place to start, but Republicans and Democrats alike must join to wean their friends in business from the government dole.

Small businesses continue to support a big cut in the capital-gains tax. Cutting the tax in half is the best thing Congress and the president can do to spur growth. If an economic slowdown becomes the main issue of the 1998 mid-term elections, Clinton will deepen his party's losses in the House and Senate. A cut in the capital-gains tax is his best insurance against the possibility that an economic downturn may threaten the health of both the economy and his party.

Karen Kerrigan is the president of the Small Business Survival Committee, in Washington, D.C.

Thomas C. Patterson

The 1996 election was simply not a referendum on public policy. The Left learned in 1994 not to fight elections on the issues. President Clinton so obscured the policy differences between conservatives and liberals that the public did not perceive that any such differences existed.

Unfortunately, most Republicans actually helped him in this regard; very few ran on the principles embodied in the party's Contract With America. Apparently intentionally, they failed to make the case that the Contract needed to be augmented and extended.

Exit polling suggests that those who voted for Clinton were not supporting any particular policy or even policy direction. Clinton voters voted primarily on personality issues and their perceived self-interest as members of a favored group. The old political bromides were correct on this point: In times of relative prosperity, voters seldom see a need to take any political risk or to tolerate significant change. Republicans failed to supply the incentive necessary to induce voters to inconvenience themselves. And, of course, Bill Clinton was the perfect candidate for a media-intense age marked by voter apathy.

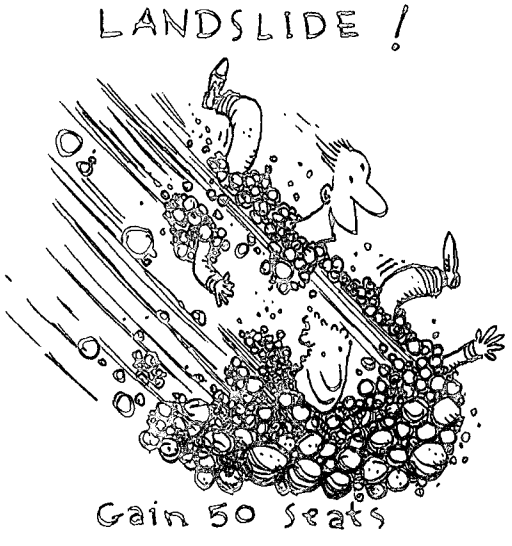
Clinton's core liberal constituencies hope that this lame-duck president will now have an unfettered opportunity to enact the liberal agenda. However, Republicans were granted legislative majorities to prevent this. Their task probably won't be difficult. For one thing, the press is much less likely to protect a president who faces no more elections and whose past behavior may very well yield Pulitzer Prize material to enterprising reporters.

A much more perplexing problem for conservatives is how to achieve important public-policy goals such as the structural reform of Medicare, restraint of federal spending (including defunding the Left), tort reform, and the reduction or elimination of the federal role in education. These issues all involve tradeoffs between short-term political concerns and lasting results. Conservatives must figure out how to take their case directly to the people, emphasizing our courage and contrasting that with the shortsightedness of the president and his backers.

Conservatives need to explain to voters that we are not so much anti-government as *un*-government. For example, our vision of welfare reform is not improving the design of the program, but truly getting the government out of the business of inducing dependency. In education, we favor control by parents, not bureaucrats, and we believe that teachers and principals, not administrators, should set policy. We do not stop to calculate whether we can "pay for" tax cuts, but rather insist that we are reducing the ultimate government intrusion into personal economic affairs.

We also need to take our legislative victories wherever we find them and keep moving the policy debate to the right. Home runs are great, but they're not the only way to win. We should not fear to appear doctrinaire or radical when speaking the truth. We should always contrast ourselves with politicians and bureaucrats. Ours is a message of hope and optimism that can appeal to a public weary of business as usual.

Thomas C. Patterson, a Republican, is the Majority Leader of the Arizona senate.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Liberal **Rout**

Why conservatives are winning in the 1990s.

By John Engler

Illustration by Alexander Hunter

There is a story the late publisher Henry Regnery liked to tell about one of his first conversations with Russell Kirk, the founder of postwar American conservative thought and a native of Michigan. In 1952, Kirk submitted a major book manuscript to Regnery and suggested that it be titled *The Conservative Rout.* Regnery talked him out of it. That title seemed too gloomy, too fatalistic. What if conservative ideas made a comeback? Would not *The Conservative Mind* be a better title in the long run? And so it was.

Were Kirk and Regnery alive today, they might revisit the word "rout"—and this time apply it instead to liberalism. Apologists for the most liberal ideals of FDR, JFK, and LBJ are in serious retreat on the eve of the 21st century.

Bill Clinton had enough liberal credentials to win the nomination (and renomination) of the Democratic party. But his re-election in 1996 can hardly be viewed as a victory for the left wing of his party. The Man from Hope remains at best a "plurality president," having failed to win a majority of votes in both 1992 and 1996. After Democrats finished off the champagne on Election Night last November, they were no doubt sobered by the realization that, beyond the Oval Office, the Democratic Party is now much weaker than it was in November 1992 when Bill Clinton was first elected. The composition of the nation's legislatures and governorships shows why: In 1997, there are 11 more GOP senators than in 1992, prior to Clinton's election. What's more, Americans returned a more conservative Senate to Washington than occupied that chamber during the last Congress. Not since the 1920s have so many Republicans filled the U.S. Senate.

Americans expressed their confidence in most of the conservative freshmen from the Class of '94 by sending them back to the House. At press time, several elections were undecided, but this much is clear: Today there are about 50 more House Republicans than in 1992. Only twice since the onset of the New Deal (in 1947-49, during the 80th Congress, and during the last Congress) have there been more GOP representatives on Capitol Hill.

Today there are 14 more Republican governors than in 1992. More Americans are represented by Republican governors than ever before in our nation's history—192 million. That's 74 percent of the American people. In state senates, there are 172 more Republicans today than in 1992. And in the lower chambers of state legislatures, there are 228 more Republicans today than in 1992. These numbers suggest that a major realignment of American politics is underway. Even before the votes were counted, *New York Times* reporter R. W. Apple remarked, "No matter who wins the presidency on Tuesday, no matter who gains or loses control of Congress, the returns, like the conduct of candidates great

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and small these many months, will confirm the nation's drift to the right."

So what of President Clinton's re-election? Two factors helped the silver-tongued Arkansan retain control of the White House, and both have to do with the conservative temper of the 1990s. The first concerns Bill Clinton's political instincts and his skill as a campaigner. In response to the 1994 elections—a debacle for liberal Democrats across the nation—Clinton recast himself to fit the *Zeitgeist* and campaigned on the premise that "the era of Big Government is over." Sounding positively Reaganesque, he offered the most conservative rhetoric of any Democratic president this century. (One wonders whether Clinton has recently graced the walls of the Oval Office with portraits of Grover Cleveland and Martin Van Buren—the only Democratic presidents in history who both preached and practiced the virtues of a limited federal government.)

With the help of consultant Dick Morris and a bevy of polls and focus groups, Clinton succeeded in marketing himself as a centrist considerably to the right of his liberal friends and his liberal past. He ran on such conservative themes as deficit-cutting, targeted tax cuts, job growth, welfare reform, school uniforms, youth curfews, and more cops on the street. An English observer recently mused, "If you imagine a president committed to a balanced budget, welfare reform, and a stronger death penalty, would you say conservatism was losing?"

The second factor has little to do with Bill Clinton himself, yet it played an enormous role in his re-election. Few commentators noticed, but the campaign themes of 1996 were determined largely by politics and policies in the states, where conservative ideas have long been ascendant. It was the achievements of the nation's 32 Republican governors and their legislatures, not those of the White House, that made a majority of Americans believe the nation was on the right track. Their record of reform helped Bill Clinton win re-election. The Man from Hope adroitly, if shamelessly, took credit for the many impressive accomplishments of GOP administrations from Albany to Sacramento, and from Lansing to Austin.

Cutting Taxes and Spending

One of the critical debates before American voters in the 1990s has been the proper size and scope of government at every level. All sides have reached a consensus that government should serve citizens better, limit its role in society, and give taxpayers more value for their dollar.

Quietly, without fanfare, Republican governors and legislatures beyond the glare of Washington politics have been balancing budgets, cutting taxes, and making government more responsive to the people. Over the past four years, while Bill Clinton has consistently refused to support the Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution, every GOP governor has been submitting a balanced budget to his or her legislature on an annual basis.

In just one year, Connecticut governor John Rowland turned a $174-million deficit into a $74-million surplus. Ohio governor George V. Voinovich has held state spending to its lowest rate of growth in four decades, and turned a $1.5-billion deficit in 1991 into an $800-million surplus. Similarly, in Minnesota and Michigan, respectively, Governor Arne Carlson and I each inherited deficits of $1.8 billion. Governor Carlson not only erased that deficit; he turned it into a $824-million surplus for 1996. In Michigan, we transformed a $1.8-billion deficit into a surplus of more than $1 billion. Today Michigan's "rainy day" fund is among the largest in the nation.

At the same time they were submitting balanced budgets, most GOP governors and legislatures were—guess what?—cutting taxes. Liberal Democrats have ignored an overwhelming body

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of evidence that tax cuts help create new jobs and fill the treasury at the same time. Yet the examples are legion. In recent years, many governors have seen significant growth in jobs after enacting significant tax cuts, including Massachusetts's William Weld, New Jersey's Christine Todd Whitman, Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge, Virginia's George Allen, Idaho's Phil Batt, and Arizona's Fife Symington.

Since 1991, Michigan has cut taxes more often than any other state—21 times. These 21 tax cuts have resulted in a savings of $6.5 billion to taxpayers. The average family of four has been able to keep $2,000 more in their wallets every year; it is they, not government bureaucrats, who get to choose whether to save or spend the money.

The economic results of these tax cuts have been nothing short of spectacular. They have helped create more than a half-million new jobs. Remember that Michigan used to be thought of as a Rust Belt state suffering high unemployment rates. From the late 1970s to the early 1990s—in fact, for 192 months in a row—our unemployment rate was consistently above the national average. By contrast, it has been at or below the national average for the past 34 consecutive months. As of this writing, Michigan's unemployment rate has been below 5 percent every month in 1996, while the U.S. rate has hovered above 5 percent. That makes Michigan's unemployment rate for 1996 the best since 1969. The Michigan experience shows that significant tax reductions do help cut the deficit, balance the budget, and turbocharge the economy.

Last September, the Cato Institute released a study that compared the 10 states that raised taxes the most during the 1990s with the 10 states that cut taxes the most. Just what were the economic and fiscal results of these "laboratories of democracy"?

The 10 tax-cutting states economically outperformed the 10 tax-hiking states. Measured in current dollars, the economies of the tax cutters grew by 33 percent from 1990 to 1995, while the economies of the tax hikers lagged behind, with 27 percent growth. More striking is the contrast in job growth. The top 10 tax-cutting states gained 1.84 million new jobs between 1990 and 1995, while the top 10 tax-hiking states created zero net new jobs over that same period.

Income for a family of four grew by $1,600 more in the tax-cutting states than the tax-hiking ones. The tax-cutting states have experienced more vigorous population growth in the 1990s: 7.4 percent, compared with just 4.2 percent average growth in the tax-hiking states. The tax-cutting states have not only balanced their budgets; but they also now enjoy a budget reserve that amounts on average to 7.1 percent of state expenditures. The tax-hiking states, by contrast, have a budget reserve on average of only 1.7 percent. As a result, Moody's bond ratings are higher for states that cut taxes than for states that raised them.

Expanding economies, robust job growth, rising personal income, vigorous population growth, historically large "rainy day" funds—no wonder Clinton could claim that it looks like morning in America. But odds are that it is only dawning brightly if you live in a fiscally conservative state. Bill Clinton owes his re-election in part to the policies of these GOP governors.

Regulatory Reform

The top tax-cutting states are doing relatively well, no doubt about it. But the United States is currently experiencing its slowest economic recovery this century. Bureaucratic strangulation is a major factor in the long-term slowdown of the national economy. In 1965, there were about 17,000 pages in the Federal Register. Just since 1992, the volume of federal rules and regulations has grown by 231,000 pages—the most prodigious growth rate since Jimmy Carter. It appears that Messrs. Clinton and Gore are not so much reinventing government as simply inventing it—and doing so prodigiously. Richard Vedder at Washington University's Center for the Study of American Business estimates that government regulations now cost our nation a staggering $1.3 trillion each year.

GOP governors are balancing budgets, cutting taxes, and making government more responsive.

Most governors believe government should be less intrusive. Many are aggressively attacking unnecessary rules and regulations wherever they can. In California last year, Governor Pete Wilson abolished some 4,000 useless and outdated rules and regulations. In Kansas, Governor Bill Graves imposed a six-month moratorium on new government regulations, then eliminated 530 of the most burdensome and obsolete ones. In the past year, we in Michigan have rescinded more than 2,000 rules and regulations.

With Republicans in control of the 105th Congress and GOP governors at the helm in about two-thirds of the states, the Clinton administration will be thwarted in its attempts to promulgate new rules and regulations. GOP governors support the efforts of congressional Republicans to reform the federal regulatory system

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and impose cost-benefit analysis before the Federal Register grows any larger.

Welfare Reform

The so-called Great Society turned out to be neither great nor good for society. By the 1990s, it was clear that the federal welfare system was discouraging work, financial independence, and the formation of families. Yet Bill Clinton twice vetoed welfare reform and held his nose last August when he signed the third bill Congress sent to his desk. Four years into his presidency, Clinton had done little to fulfill his 1992 campaign pledge "to end welfare as we know it"—but he was happy to take credit for the success of the states while masking his party's hostility to transferring power out of Washington.

Shortly after Clinton signed the welfare-reform bill, Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala told the *New Yorker* magazine, "Everyone agrees that [Clinton] signed [welfare reform] and he has to fix it, and to fix it we need to elect a Democratic president and Democratic Congress in 1996, so we can repeal the parts of the bill we hate."

There's more than a little irony to the fact that for three years, Clinton talked the talk of welfare reform while refusing to sign a bill. New York senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan aptly observed of Clinton's decision to sign this legislation 14 weeks before the election, "If it were 14 weeks after the election, he'd say no."

Once again, the governors deserve the credit for leading the welfare-reform movement. They understood that the welfare system could not be transformed unless it was linked to personal responsibility and accountability. Throughout the 1990s, many governors have applied for and received federal waivers to loosen Washington's grip on the welfare system. Waivers are cumbersome, bureaucratic procedures, but they have at least enabled the states to begin finding innovative solutions to the social and economic problems caused by dependency. The results have been dramatic. States with Republican governors for at least the last four years have already seen the number of people receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) decrease by an average of 16 percent since 1993.

No GOP governor has garnered more national attention for his welfare reforms than Wisconsin's Tommy Thompson. Building on the highly successful "Work Not Welfare" program, his administration in 1996 launched "Wisconsin Works," or "W-2." This program requires welfare recipients to participate in employment and job training to receive benefits. Since Wisconsin implemented these and other reforms, its welfare caseload has decreased by 33 percent.

Common-sense welfare reforms have also been implemented by, among others, New Hampshire's Steve Merrill, Connecticut's John Rowland, New York's George Pataki, Illinois's Jim Edgar, Iowa's Terry Branstad, Tennessee's Don Sundquist, Mississippi's Kirk Fordice, Texas's George W. Bush, Utah's Mike Leavitt, and Arizona's Fife Symington.

Our experience with welfare reform in the Great Lakes State has also been encouraging. Michigan requires welfare recipients to seek work, receive job training, or perform community service for at least 20 hours a week. Since we implemented our program "To Strengthen Michigan Families" in 1992:

- The AFDC caseload has dropped for 30 consecutive months;
- The number of welfare recipients in Michigan has fallen to its lowest level in a quarter-century;
- 101,652 families no longer receive cash benefits because they are working and earning paychecks;
- Almost one in three Michigan welfare recipients on AFDC is working; nationally, only one in 11 is working. In our state, moreover, about half of all two-parent families on welfare are working.

The success of Michigan and other states shows that the 104th Congress was right to try to get Washington out of the way of welfare reform. Some, like Virginia under Governor Allen, have passed time limits for benefits so that welfare cannot become a way of life. Others, like California, require beneficiaries to stay in school and earn educational credentials, a crucial step toward achieving independence. Still others, such as Massachusetts under Governor Weld, have ended the financial incentive to have additional children while on welfare by requiring teen mothers under the age of 18 to live at home. Whatever the particulars of reform, the 50 laboratories of democracy will continue to find innovative solutions to help the poor help themselves. Washington should just stay out of the way.

Education Reform

As William Bennett and Lamar Alexander have frequently noted, education in America is the constitutional responsibility of our states, the social responsibility of our communities, and the moral responsibility of our families. Our nation does not need a $31-billion federal Department of Education. This agency contributes 7 percent of the funding of our nation's schools while mandating about 50 percent of the paperwork. And for all that meddling, not one bureaucrat in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Education Department teaches our students to be more competent in math, science, English, history, and government. It is time to return the money held hostage in Washington to the states and their citizens. After all, it's their money.

The national leaders in education reform have been the states, not Washington bureaucrats. More parental involvement, higher standards, greater discipline, increased autonomy for teachers, more choice for students and their families—these are the keys to improving our public schools and making them the best in the world.

Governors have long understood that. They have led the burgeoning charter-school movement, which is injecting competition into the nation's public schools. Now there are hundreds of these innovative schools around the nation—including 116 in California, 114 in Arizona, and 74 in Michigan. In my state alone, charter public schools are serving more than 10,400 students. And contrary to union propaganda, they are not elitist. In Michigan, for example, one in every three charter public schools was founded by African-American educators; more than 50 percent of the enrollment in charter schools is African American or at-risk students. As a result, charter public schools serve more than twice the minority population that conventional public schools do. Michigan's first charter school, in the heart of Detroit, was so popular that its 300 slots drew more than 5,000 applications. One child was so eager to be admitted that he applied more than 100 times!

Even more sweeping plans have been enacted in Wisconsin and Ohio, giving students in the lowest-performing and least-disciplined schools the opportunity to choose better schools for their children. Bureaucrats and special interests can no longer keep our nation's children chained to a monopoly of mediocrity. The states will be in the vanguard of educational liberation, ensuring educational options for all families.

Free the States!

Observers of all political persuasions agree: Liberalism is suffering a rout. America is choosing to go right and return to its conservative roots. In the 1990s, Republican governors have worked closely with legislatures to spearhead needed reform. Year after year, it is the governors who are slashing deficits and balancing the budget; who are cutting taxes and eliminating red tape; who are restoring personal responsibility to and reducing dependency on the welfare system; who are making public schools more accountable to parents and their communities.

In 1996, Bill Clinton was able to parlay the governors' accomplishments into a successful reelection bid. But more enduring than any cleverly run campaign is the legacy of state-driven reform. For the foreseeable future, the domestic reforms that are most needed and most attuned to the conservative temper of the American people will continue to come from the nation's governors, working with their respective legislatures. They have a proven record of success. And they are more accountable to the people than any Beltway bureaucrat. Thus it is critical that Washington do the right thing for our nation.

Our message is: Free the states! Unshackle us from overweening federal control. Let us in the states govern as the U.S. Constitution meant us to govern. This is already beginning to happen, of course. During the past two years, the Republican-led 104th Congress ushered in a new spirit of cooperation with the governors and began the process of returning power to the states. All indications are that the Republican-led 105th Congress will try to devolve even more power, consistent with the Tenth Amendment.

But what of the Democrat in the White House? Although Bill Clinton is a former governor and has lately learned to speak like a conservative, deep down he probably has little sympathy for the states and their drive for reform.

Morning in America? Odds are, it's only dawning brightly if you live in a fiscally conservative state.

Therefore those of us beyond the Beltway dare not take devolution for granted. We know all about the false starts of the past.

In 1935, when the New Deal was taking root, Supreme Court justice Louis Brandeis told a top aide to Roosevelt, "This is the end of this business of centralization, and I want you to go back and tell the president that we are not going to let this government centralize everything. It's come to an end. As for your young men, you call them together and tell them to get out of Washington—tell them to go home, back to the states. That is where they must do their work."

Amen to that.

Let us hope that enough people in the Washington establishment see the wisdom of these words. Let us also hope that, during the presidential campaign four years from now, there will be candidates who do not merely speak like conservatives, but who truly believe in conservative ideas and know how to implement conservative policies consistent with the best in our nation's tradition.

John Engler, *a Republican, is the governor of Michigan.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Material

Recycling may be OK for paper—but what about the ideas printed on it?

REASON readers knew about Internet issues when "wired" was what you got from too much coffee. About date rape hysteria when Camille Paglia was an obscure art-school professor. About John Kasich years before Hill correspondents could pronounce his name.

From Hong Kong films to the ambush at Ruby Ridge, from the political uses of children to the decay of the jury system: ***REASON*** got there first.

Says *Boston Globe* columnist David Warsh, "Under editor Virginia Postrel, this lively and peripatetic magazine has earned the right to be taken seriously. You never know when one of its concerns is going to turn up in the mainstream press."

Tired of recycled Beltway leftovers?

Call toll-free **1-888-REASON-8** or clip the coupon below to subscribe today. Get a full year (11 issues) of virgin material for just $21.95.

REASON

3415 S. Sepulveda Blvd, Suite 400
Los Angeles, CA 90034-6064

☐ Yes! Begin my subscription right away! I want a full year of *REASON* delivered to my door. My check for $21.95 for 11 issues is enclosed.

☐ Bill me later for 11 issues for $21.95.

Name_____

Address_____

City/State/Zip_____

Basic subscription price $26 for 11 issues. Please allow 6–8 weeks for arrival of your first copy. Outside the U.S., please add $8. New subscribers only please.

AVM96

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Members of Congress have traditionally defined compassion by how much of other people's money they spend on their favorite causes. Perhaps it's time for a new definition: How senators and representatives use their own time and leadership skills to help organizations that aid the needy. Here are the stories of four legislators who, without relying on government tax collectors, are making an extraordinary difference in people's lives:

By Nick Schulz

The *Citizer*

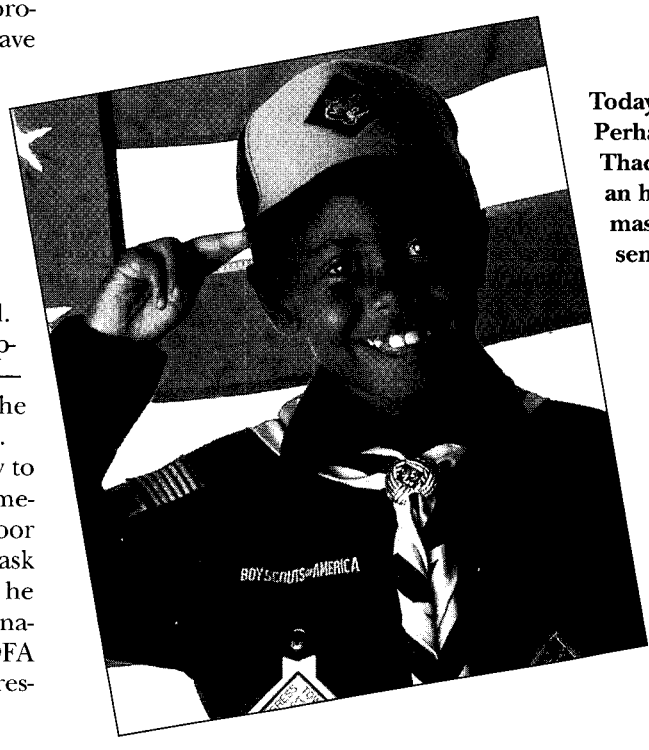
Rep. Mark Neumann

Mark Neumann, a sophomore congressman from Wisconsin, is a risk-taker. In 1980, he started a homebuilding company that promptly lost money. He pressed on. By 1991, he had established a thriving construction firm, Neumann Developments, that employs several hundred workers.

But if you ask Neumann about success and overcoming the odds, he'll tell you to talk to Eileen McCaffrey. As head of the Orphan Foundation of America (OFA), she works with a lot of children who find the odds stacked against them. The OFA is a scholarship and grant program that offers college tuition to kids who have bounced around foster homes their whole lives. "Kids who come from disadvantaged backgrounds need help on three fronts if they are going to succeed," McCaffrey says. "They need to know they belong in a community, they need to develop some life skills, and they need opportunity. And that's where we and our scholarship program come in."

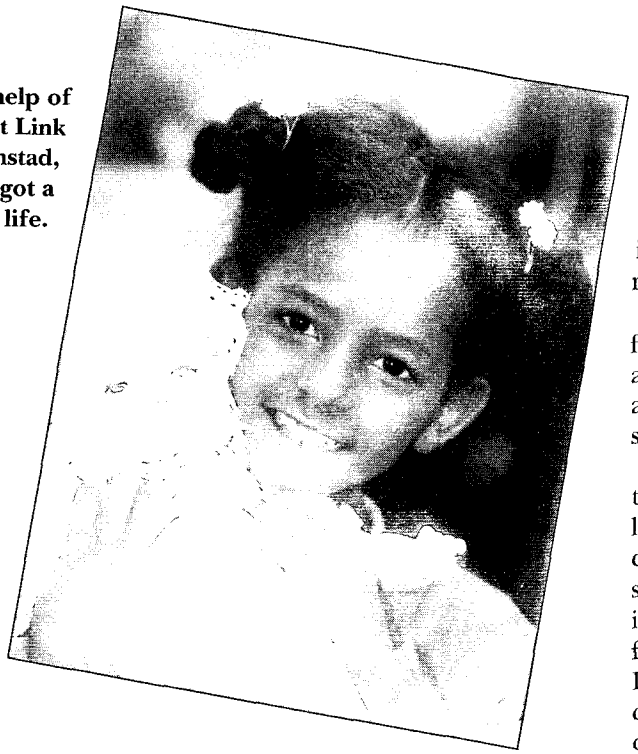
That's where Neumann comes in as well. Though he sits on the powerful House Appropriations Committee, Neumann—if pressed—might tell you raising money for the OFA is the most significant thing he does in Washington.

Neumann rarely passes up an opportunity to ask his colleagues to support the charity. "Sometimes when we are assembled on the House floor for a vote, I'll go up to other members and ask them if they could help out the foundation," he says. "In my Christmas cards, I've included donation slips in case people want to send the OFA some money." He, along with several congres-



Today he's a Boy Scout. Perhaps one day, like Thad Cochran, he'll be an honorary Scout master and a U.S. senator.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



With the help of Children's Heart Link and Rep. Jim Ramstad, Mimi Ayanew got a second chance at life.

Senator

Some members of Congress are helping the needy the old-fashioned way—one on one.

sional colleagues, belongs to a ragtag rock band called "The Amendments," which performs benefit concerts for the Orphan Foundation. His efforts have translated into thousands of dollars in scholarship money for needy kids. In June, the congressman announced that five new scholarships worth $500 each were available for foster children in his Wisconsin congressional district.

In most states, foster-care assistance runs out when a recipient hits his 20th birthday. Once foster care ends, those in the system are immediately left to their own devices, which makes it difficult for them to escape the cycle of dependency. More than 40 percent of homeless adults spent time in foster care as children, McCaffrey says. Only 50 percent of children in foster care ever graduate from high school. Those who do typically have trouble getting into college, for both economic and academic reasons.

"All too often these kids have been in four or five different schools and maybe they don't have a lot of extra-curriculars," McCaffrey says. "They aren't too attractive to the traditional scholarship sources."

The OFA targets at-risk youngsters and helps them gain access to universities, community colleges, and trade and technical schools so they can make the transition from foster care to self-sufficiency. Toward that end, Neumann is helping McCaffrey organize an OLIVER project fund-raiser. OLIVER (an acronym for "Orphan Leadership Initiative: Values, Education, Resources") is a week-long Washington event in which orphans meet with public officials and policymakers, attend career workshops to help them develop the skills needed to look for a job, and set up internships with government officials and businesses.

"Mark has done so much to help us get recognized on Capitol Hill by talking our organization up with his friends," McCaffrey says. Even social workers in Neumann's district—adversaries when it comes to policy issues—are taking note. "They may not be sympathetic to what some in the Republican Congress and Mark are trying to do politically," she says, "but they respect what he does for us. They think he's terrific."

Senator Dan Coats

Dan Coats remembers that day in 1985 as if it were yesterday. Standing with his family in an anxious crowd, the music playing softly, he turned to the back of the church as the doors opened. C.J.'s bride made her way down the aisle to greet her groom on the most important day of their lives. Coats was struck at how much the bride reminded him of his wife Marcia on their wedding day 20 years earlier. Dan Coats was immensely proud. C.J., he thought, he's going to make it.

In the early 1970s, when the Hoosier first met C.J. in a Big Brother program in Ft. Wayne, Indiana, he wasn't so sure. C.J. was growing up on some of the toughest streets of Ft. Wayne, where good male role models are hard to find, and it had taken its toll.

Big Brothers is a mentoring program that matches fatherless youngsters with responsible, caring men. It has 500 chapters nationwide. "These are kids coming from extremely under-

Photos courtesy of Children's Heart Link and Boy Scouts of America

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

privileged backgrounds," Coats says. "They have suffered an assortment of unfortunate experiences at an early age. They have trouble forming coherent opinions and values about the world in part because they've never had strong male role models to look to for guidance."

Big Brothers is one of the most effective mentoring programs on the map: According to Public/Private Ventures, participation in Big Brothers cuts first-time drug use by 46 percent, reduces school absenteeism by 52 percent, and reduces violent behavior by 33 percent. The numbers, according to the Philadelphia-based research group, are consistent across all races.

Although Coats last year proposed an ambitious legislative package of tax credits and programs to empower needy families, he is quick to acknowledge the limits of government action. Government programs, he says, rarely get at the root causes of social problems.

That's a warning he picked up from a black minister in Macon, Georgia. The minister bluntly told Coats and other politicians at a hearing that "resources and money are not enough. The moral and spiritual sides of the person are more important." The warning has stuck with Coats, and helped cement his commitment to Big Brothers.

In recent years, Coats has served on the National Board of Big Brothers, raising funds and drawing attention to the need for more mentors. With more kids entering the program every year, mentors are being assigned groups of five youngsters, which Coats says dilutes its effectiveness. "Programs such as these can have such a powerful impact because they provide more than just material needs. They are able to address the needs of the whole person, which makes them quite different from government programs."

Senator Thad Cochran

"We walked together in the shadow of all the great monuments on the Mall here in Washington, D.C. We even got to see Connie Mack and the Philadelphia Athletics play in Boston against the Red Sox." These were some of Thad Cochran's earliest memories as a Boy Scout in Mississippi.

Cochran was a devoted Scout as a young boy. Later he helped found a new Scout troop at Spring Ridge Methodist Church and served as its first junior assistant Scout master. Of the nearly 100 million scouting alumni of the 86-year-old program, Cochran is among the 2 percent who reached the rank of Eagle Scout, an accomplishment of which he is immensely proud. The senator has hung up his uniform, but still considers himself an "honorary Scout master" as he helps the Boy Scouts of America today by raising funds nationwide and by escorting Scout troops around Capitol Hill for a first-rate civics lesson.

Cochran has for many years been an active spokesman for the Boy Scouts. "Within the Scout troop, young men learn the role of a good citizen," he says. "They learn that there are rules in life that need to be obeyed and that emergencies and dilemmas will confront you that cannot be ignored. These are lessons that need to be learned and at a very young age." Indeed, these are lessons which, when learned early and put into practice, can produce substantial accomplishments. Just ask William Lugg.

"We cannot sustain a nation," says Senator Thad Cochran, "whose citizens have no sense of obligation to others or their country."

An Eagle Scout, William was one of 10 recent winners of the Presidential Environmental Youth Award. Lugg, along with the rest of Scout Post No. 220 from Van Nuys, California, logged more than 9,500 hours of building and maintaining trails in forests, parks, and camps in an effort to "make nature available to everyone." They built access paths to local lakes; developed booklets and signs in various languages, including Braille, for nature trails; and restored the habitats of endangered fish in canyon riverbeds. They also initiated programs to encourage other concerned citizens to do the same. Brought to Washington for a tour of the capital and the presentation of the award by Vice President Gore, Lugg received private grants to continue his environmental restoration projects.

Cochran applauds the Scouts for fostering the work ethic and for expanding children's goals and horizons. "The conferral of merit badges for excellence in achievement and good works reinforces the notion that hard work will be rewarded," he says. "Nothing comes for free." The Boy Scouts confer merit badges for everything from the study of art or atomic energy to excellence in public speaking or wilderness survival. All Scouts are subjected to high standards for demonstrating sufficient ability in each merit field. More than 85 million merit badges have been conferred since the Boy Scouts were founded, in 1910.

"The Scouts helped me by expanding my world view," says Cochran. "I came from a small, rural community in Mississippi. Our Scout troop went to Washington, D.C.; Valley Forge, Pennsylvania; and New York City. Those trips have a great impact on a young man's horizons. Given my

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

background in Mississippi, I might never have thought of becoming a civil servant on a national level had it not been for my visit to Washington as a Scout." Cochran was one of more than 300 former Scouts in the 104th Congress.

How does Cochran's devotion to the scouting ethic affect his political views as a U.S. Senator? Cochran doubts the wisdom of some recent proposals to remove all incentives for charitable giving or civic action from the tax code. "I had a friend donate some property of his to the Boy Scouts, and I can assure you he wouldn't have done it if it hadn't been for the tax incentive to do so. That's just the way people are. We need to understand the implications of removing [the charitable deduction]. There are other problems that could be created if we're not careful."

The transmission of values from one generation to the next, says Cochran, is the most important obligation adults owe their children, their communities, and their country. No sooner do we forget this than our experiment in liberal democracy is lost. "We cannot sustain a nation whose citizens have no sense of obligation to others or their country. We need to support the groups and associations, like the Boy Scouts, that do a good job in promoting strong citizenship. It's a reciprocal relationship."

Rep. Jim Ramstad

It was the winter of 1982 and Minnesota state senator Jim Ramstad could hardly believe his eyes. When Shemsiya "Mimi" Ayanew arrived at the hospital, her skin was blue. She couldn't walk. She suffered from atrial septal defect—a hole in her heart. She would not live another month without serious corrective heart surgery.

A few months earlier, Mimi's family had sought help from the Children's Heart Link, a medical charity, as a last, desperate hope for their daughter. Ramstad, having offered his services to Heart Link, sponsored Mimi to fly her from her home in Ethiopia to Minneapolis for corrective surgery.

"I remember it vividly," Ramstad says. "When I first saw Mimi, she was wheeled into the hospital and was in terrible shape. Then the next time I saw her, she had a big smile on her face and she was running up and down the hospital halls. She had her life restored. It is an incredible feeling to know that you've touched someone's life in that way."

The Children's Heart Link is an international medical charity founded in 1969 to treat and help prevent heart disease in children. An American G.I. stationed in Vietnam encountered three village children with heart defects in need of surgery, but the only place with the necessary technology and skills was the United States. He arranged for them to be flown to Minnesota, and the only international heart-care charity of its kind was born.

Today, Heart Link works in conjunction with cardiovascular units located in developing countries throughout the world, providing treatment for needy kids who otherwise might not have access to quality heart care. Sometimes Heart Link sends American doctors overseas—to places like Costa Rica, Kenya, and Ethiopia—to perform surgery.

The charity also is establishing clinics and training centers in Central and South America and Africa. American doctors and nurses are sent to teach local medical students and technicians a range of skills, such as giving echocardiographic exams, administering cardiac catheterizations, and performing surgery.

About 1 percent of children around the world are born with some sort of heart condition. Of those, one-third will die without some medical treatment, either in the form of medicine or surgery. The clinics sponsored by Heart Link received 24,000 pediatric patients last year and performed more than 1,500 heart surgeries. And over $200,000 in medical supplies and devices was donated and distributed to developing countries. By establishing clinics overseas and educating and training the local medical caregivers, Heart Link is better able to provide the vital follow-up care that children with heart conditions need.

"When I first saw Mimi," says Rep. Jim Ramstad, "she was in terrible shape. The next time I saw her she had her life restored."

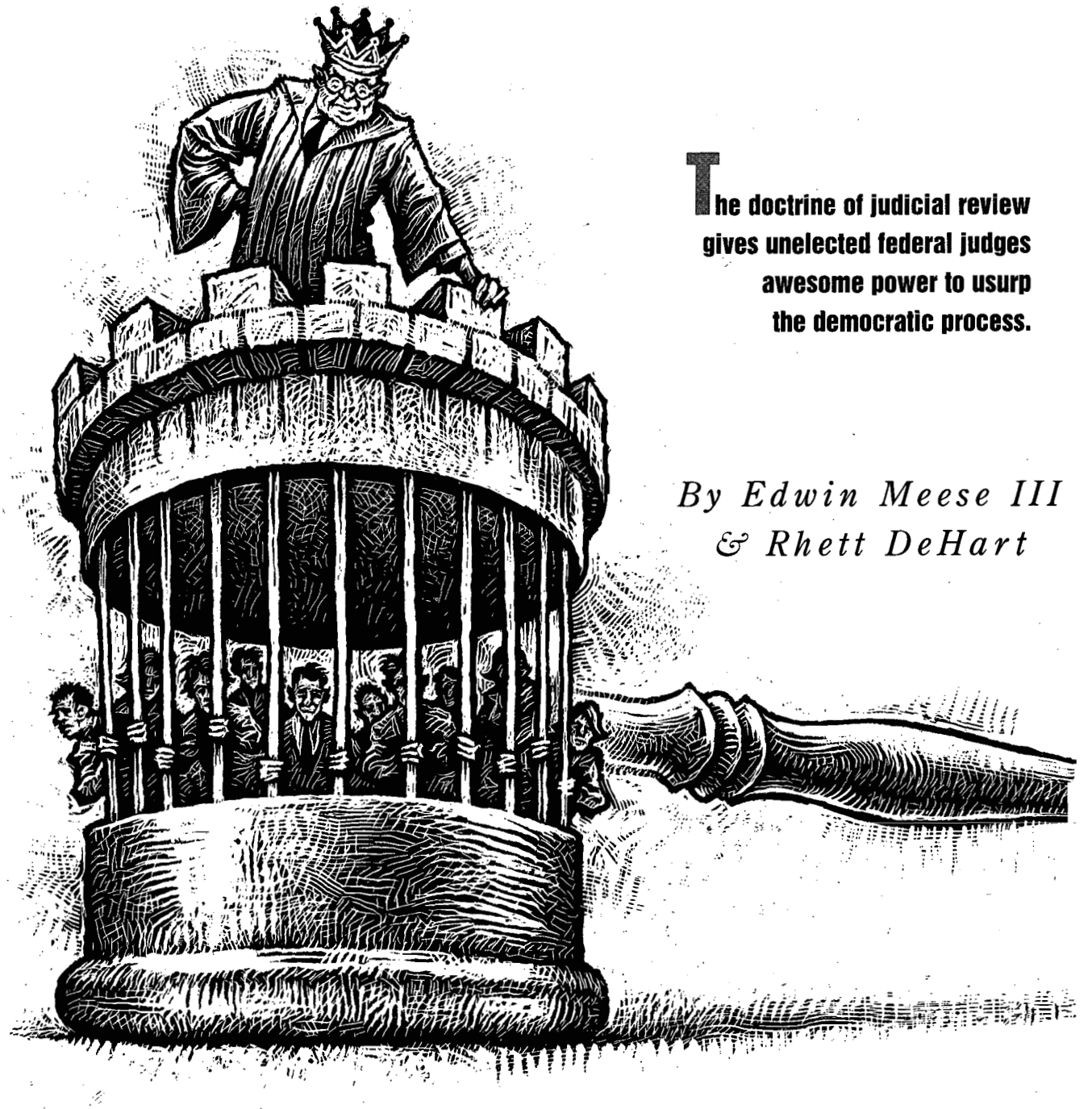
Heart Link raises funds from private donors by hosting celebrity benefits and auctions. Last year, it held its biggest annual event, a gala in Minneapolis featuring Kirby Puckett, then an all-star outfielder for the Minnesota Twins. Puckett enlisted some fellow sports stars, including the Baltimore Orioles' Cal Ripken, to play in a celebrity billiard tournament to raise money. The remainder of funds come through direct-mail solicitation.

Today, Ramstad is a congressman from Minnesota's Third District. He still helps out his favorite charity as a board member, raising funds for the medical supplies necessary to sustain the operation.

Nick Schulz *is a management consultant and a former policy analyst with Empower America.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Imperial Judiciary



The doctrine of judicial review gives unelected federal judges awesome power to usurp the democratic process.

By Edwin Meese III & Rhett DeHart

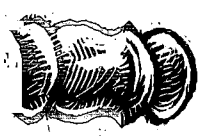
Illustration by Phil Foster

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

. . . And What Congress Can Do About It

Under the modern doctrine of judicial review, the federal judiciary can invalidate any state or federal law or policy it considers inconsistent with the U.S. Constitution. This doctrine gives unelected federal judges awesome power. Whenever these judges exceed their constitutional prerogative to interpret law and instead read their personal views and prejudices into the Constitution, the least democratic branch of government becomes its most powerful as well.

America's Founding Fathers created a democratic republic in which elected representatives were to decide the important issues of the day. In their view, the role of the judiciary, although crucial, was to interpret and clarify the law—not to make law. The Framers recognized the necessity of judicial restraint and the dangers of judicial activism. James Madison wrote in *The Federalist Papers* that to combine judicial power with executive and legislative authority was "the very definition of tyranny," and Thomas Jefferson believed that allowing only the unelected judiciary to interpret the Constitution would lead to judicial supremacy. "It is a very dangerous doctrine to consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional questions," said Jefferson. "It is one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy."



Unfortunately, the federal judiciary has strayed far beyond its proper functions, in many ways validating Jefferson's warnings about judicial power. In no other democracy in the world do unelected judges decide as many vital political issues as they do in America. We will never return the federal government to its proper role in our society until we return the federal judiciary to its proper role in our government.

Supreme Court decisions based on the Constitution cannot be reversed or altered, except by a constitutional amendment. Such decisions are virtually immune from presidential vetoes or congressional legislation. Abraham Lincoln warned of this in his First Inaugural Address when he said:

"[T]he candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions, affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court . . . the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having, to that extent, practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal."

When the most important social and moral issues are removed from the democratic process, citizens lose the political experience and moral education that come from resolving difficult issues and reaching a social consensus. President Reagan explained how judicial activism is incompatible with popular government:

"The Founding Fathers were clear on this issue. For them, the question involved in judicial restraint was not—as it is not—will we have liberal courts or conservative courts? They knew that the courts, like the Constitution itself, must not be liberal or conservative. *The question was and is, will we have government by the people?*" [Emphasis added.]

Judicial Excesses

When federal judges exceed their proper interpretive role, the result is not only infidelity

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the Constitution, but very often poor public policy. Numerous cases illustrate the consequences of judicial activism and the harm it has caused our society. Activist court decisions have undermined nearly every aspect of public policy. Among the most egregious examples:

Allowing racial preferences and quotas. In *United Steelworkers of America v. Weber* (1979), the Supreme Court held for the first time that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 permits private employers to establish racial preferences and quotas in employment, despite the clear language of the statute: "It shall be an unlawful employment practice for any employer . . . to discriminate against any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin." Had the Court decided *Weber* differently, racial preferences would not exist in the private sector today. The *Weber* decision is a classic example of how unelected government regulators and federal judges have diverted our civil-rights laws from a color-blind ideal to a complex and unfair system of racial and ethnic preferences and quotas that perpetuate bias and discrimination.

Creating a "right" to public welfare assistance. In *Goldberg v. Kelly* (1970), the Supreme Court sanctioned the idea that welfare entitlements are a form of "property" under the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court's conclusion: Before a government can terminate benefits on the grounds that the recipient is not eligible, the recipient is entitled to an extensive and costly appeals process akin to a trial. Thanks to the Court, welfare recipients now have a "right" to receive benefits fraudulently throughout lengthy legal proceedings, and never have to reimburse the government if their ineligibility is confirmed. The decision has tied up thousands of welfare workers in judicial hearings and deprived the truly needy of benefits. By 1974, for example, New York City alone needed a staff of 3,000 to conduct *Goldberg* hearings.

Hampering criminal prosecution. In *Mapp v. Ohio* (1961), the Supreme Court began a revolution in criminal procedure by requiring state courts to exclude from criminal cases any evidence found during an "unreasonable" search or seizure. In so holding, the Court overruled a previous case, *Wolf v. Colorado* (1949), which had allowed each state to devise its own methods for deterring unreasonable searches and seizures. The Supreme Court in effect acted like a legislature rather than a judicial body. As a dissenting justice noted, the *Mapp* decision unjustifiably infringed upon the states' sovereign judicial systems and forced them to adopt a uniform, federal procedural remedy ill-suited to serve states with "their own peculiar problems in criminal law enforcement."

In fact, nothing in the Fourth Amendment or any other provision of the Constitution mentions the exclusion of evidence, nor does the legislative history of the Constitution indicate that the Framers intended to require such exclusion. Instead we ought to explore other means of deterring police misconduct without acquitting criminals, such as permitting civil lawsuits against reckless government officials and enforcing internal police sanctions against offending officers with fines and demotions.

Since *Mapp v. Ohio*, the exclusionary rule has had a devastating impact on law enforcement in America. One recent study estimated that 150,000 criminal cases, including 30,000 cases of violence, are dropped or dismissed *every year* because the exclusionary rule excluded valid, probative evidence needed for prosecution.

Lowering hiring standards for the U.S. workforce. In *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* (1971), a plaintiff challenged a company's requirement that job applicants possess a high-school diploma and pass a general aptitude test as a condition of employment. The lawsuit argued that because the diploma and test requirements disqualified a disproportionate number of minorities, those requirements were unlawful under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 unless shown to be related to the job in question.

The Court ruled that under the Act, employment requirements that disproportionately exclude minorities must be shown to be related to job performance, and it rejected the employer's argument that the diploma and testing requirements were implemented to improve the overall quality of its work force. Moreover, the Court held that "Congress has placed on the employer the burden of showing that any given requirement must have a manifest relationship to the employment in question."

Federal judges have diverted our civil-rights laws from a color-blind ideal to a complex and unfair system of racial and ethnic preferences.

In fact, the Act explicitly authorizes an employer to use aptitude tests like the one challenged in *Griggs*. This insidious court decision has lowered the quality of the U.S. workforce by making it difficult for employers to require high-school diplomas and other neutral job requirements. It also forced employers to adopt racial quotas in order to avoid the expense of defending hiring practices that happen to produce disparate outcomes for different ethnic groups.

"Discovering" a right to abortion. In *Roe v. Wade* (1973), the Court considered the constitu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tionality of a Texas statute that prohibited abortion except to save the life of the mother. Although the Court acknowledged that the Constitution does not explicitly mention a right of privacy, it held that the Constitution protects rights "implicit in the concept of ordered liberty." The Court ruled that "the right of personal privacy includes the abortion decision," and it struck down the Texas statute under the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court then went on, in a blatantly legislative fashion, to proclaim a precise framework limiting the states' ability to regulate abortion procedures.

The dissenting opinion in *Roe* pointed out that, in order to justify its ruling, the majority had to somehow "find" within the Fourteenth Amendment a right that was unknown to the drafters of the Amendment. When the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted in 1868, there were at least 36 state or territorial laws limiting abortion, and the passage of the Amendment raised no questions at the time about the validity of those laws. "The only conclusion possible from this history," wrote the dissenting justices, "is that the Drafters did not intend to have the Fourteenth Amendment withdraw from the States the power to legislate with respect to this matter."

One of the most pernicious aspects of the *Roe* decision is that it removed one of the most profound social and moral issues from the democratic process without any constitutional authority. For the first two centuries of America's existence, the abortion issue had been decided by state legislatures, with substantially less violence and conflict than has attended the issue since the *Roe* decision.

Overturning state referenda. In *Romer v. Evans* (1996), the U.S. Supreme Court actually negated a direct vote of the people. This case concerned an amendment to the Colorado constitution enacted in 1992 by a statewide referendum. "Amendment 2" prohibited the state or any political subdivisions therein from adopting any policy that grants homosexuals "any minority status, quota preference, protected status, or claim of discrimination." The Court ruled that the amendment was unconstitutional because it did not bear a "rational relationship" to a legitimate government purpose and thus violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The state of Colorado contended that this amendment protected freedom of association, particularly for landlords and employers who have religious objections to homosexuality, and that it only prohibited *preferential treatment* for homosexuals. But the Court rejected these arguments and offered its own interpretation of what motivated the citizens of Colorado, claiming that "laws of the kind now before us raise the inevitable inference that the disadvantage imposed is born of animosity toward the class of persons affected."

The dissenting opinion argued that Amendment 2 denies equal treatment only in the sense that homosexuals may not obtain "preferential treatment without amending the state constitution." Noting that under *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986), states are permitted to outlaw homosexual sodomy, the dissent reasoned that if it is constitutionally permissible for a state to criminalize homosexual conduct, it is surely constitutionally permissible for a state to deny special favor and protection to homosexuals. The Court's decision, the dissent charged, "is an act not of judicial judgment, but of political will."

The Supreme Court has desecrated the principle of self-government and appointed itself the arbiter of the nation's moral values.

It is hard not to regard the *Romer* decision as the pinnacle of judicial arrogance: Six appointed justices struck down a law passed by 54 percent of a state's voters in a direct election, the most democratic of all procedures. In one of the most egregious usurpations of power in constitutional history, the Court not only desecrated the principle of self-government, but appointed itself the moral arbiter of the nation's values.

Turning the Tide

Fortunately, Congress has a number of strategies at its disposal to confine the judiciary to its proper constitutional role:

1. The Senate should use its confirmation authority to block the appointment of activist federal judges.

When a president appoints judges who exceed their constitutional authority and usurp the other branches of government, the Senate can properly restrain the judiciary by carefully exercising its responsibilities under the "advise and consent" clause of Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution.

Normally, the Senate Judiciary Committee conducts a hearing on the president's nominees. Those nominees who are approved by the committee or submitted without recommendation go to the full Senate for a confirmation vote.

Unfortunately, the confirmation process in recent years has been relatively perfunctory. The Senate has been reluctant to closely question a nominee to ascertain the candidate's understanding of the proper role of the judiciary. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senate committee hearing provides an excellent opportunity to discern a judicial candidate's understanding of a constitutionally limited judiciary. It also provides a public opportunity for judicial watchdog organizations to testify in support of or against a particular nominee.

The Constitution established Senate confirmation to ensure that unqualified nominees were not given lifelong judgeships. In carrying out this important responsibility, senators should ascertain a prospective judge's commitment to a philosophy of judicial restraint and fidelity to the Constitution. In so doing, they should carefully review all the opinions, legal articles, and other materials authored by the candidate, the personal background report prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the testimony of judges and other attorneys who have had ample opportunities to view a candidate's work.

In the name of efficiency, the full Senate sometimes votes to confirm judicial nominees in bundles. This practice should cease. Senators should vote on each nominee individually, in order to remind the prospective judge and the public of the awesome responsibility of each new member of the judiciary and to hold themselves accountable for every judge they confirm to the federal bench.

2. *Congress should strip the American Bar Association of its special role in the judicial selection process.*

The American Bar Association (ABA) has shown itself to be a special-interest group, every bit as politicized as the American Civil Liberties Union or the National Rifle Association. In the 104th Congress, for example, the ABA officially supported federal funding for abortion services for the poor, racial and ethnic preferences, and a ban on assault weapons; and it opposed a ban on flag-burning, reform of the exclusionary rule and of death-penalty appeals, and a proposal to restrict AFDC payments for welfare mothers who have additional children. Hence it should be removed from any official role in evaluating judicial nominees. It would still be free to testify before the Senate Judiciary Committee concerning potential judges, but it would not have any special status or authority.

The Senate will always need the impartial assessment of judges and lawyers who have a detailed knowledge of the work and background of a judicial candidate. In place of the ABA, the Senate should appoint a special fact-finding committee in each of the 94 federal judicial districts. These lawyers would be selected for their objectivity, ideological neutrality, and understanding of the constitutional role of the judiciary. They would obtain the detailed information the Senate needs to evaluate a candidate, and would give that information directly to the Judiciary Committee without subjective comments or evaluation.

3. *Congress should exercise its power to limit the jurisdiction of the federal courts.*

Congress has great control over the jurisdiction of the lower federal courts. Article III, Section 1, of the Constitution provides that "[t]he judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, *and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.*" [Emphasis added.] It is well-established that since Congress has total discretion over whether to create the lower federal courts, it also has great discretion over the jurisdiction of those courts it chooses to create. In fact, Congress has in the past withdrawn jurisdiction from the lower federal courts when it became dissatisfied with their performance or concluded that state courts were the better forum for certain types of cases. The Supreme Court has repeatedly upheld Congress's power to do so.

Congress also has some authority to limit the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and to regulate its activities. Article III of the Constitution states that the Supreme Court "shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, *with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.*" [Emphasis added.] Although we recognize that the scope of Congress's power to regulate and restrict the Supreme Court's jurisdiction over particular types of cases is under debate, there is a constitutional basis for this authority.

In the only case that directly addressed this issue, the Supreme Court upheld Congress's power to restrict the Court's appellate jurisdiction. In *Ex Parte McCardle* (1869), the Court unanimously upheld Congress's power to limit its jurisdiction, stating:

"We are not at liberty to inquire into the motives of the legislature. We can only examine into its power under the Constitution; *and the power to make exceptions to the appellate jurisdiction of this court is given by express words.* What, then, is the effect of the repealing act upon the case before us? We cannot doubt as to this. Without jurisdiction, the court cannot proceed at all in any case." [Emphasis added.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although some respected constitutional scholars argue that Congress cannot restrict the Supreme Court's jurisdiction to the extent that it intrudes upon the Court's "core functions," there is no question that Congress has more authority under the Constitution to act than it has recently exercised.

The 104th Congress displayed an encouraging willingness to assert its authority over the jurisdiction of the lower federal courts. For example, the Prison Litigation Reform Act of 1995 reduced the discretion of the federal courts to micromanage state prisons and to force the early release of prisoners. The Act also makes it more difficult for prisoners to file frivolous lawsuits. (An incredible 63,550 prisoner lawsuits were filed in federal court in 1995 alone.) Congress also passed the Effective Death Penalty Act of 1995. This Act limited the power of the federal courts to entertain endless habeas corpus appeals filed by prisoners on death row, significantly expediting the death-penalty process.

Other issues are due for some congressional muscle-flexing to restrain an activist judiciary:

Private-school choice. Some radical groups like the American Civil Liberties Union argue that the government would violate the First Amendment's Establishment Clause if it gave a tuition voucher to a family who uses it at a religious school. Under current Supreme Court precedents, school vouchers are almost certainly constitutional. Nevertheless, some federal judges have indicated that they would invalidate private-school choice plans under the Establishment Clause. Moreover, if more activist justices are named to the Supreme Court, a liberal majority could crush one of the most promising educational initiatives in recent years by judicial fiat. To ensure that the issue of private-school choice is decided through the democratic process, Congress should consider restricting the Court's jurisdiction over this issue.

Congress should consider restricting the courts' jurisdiction over school choice, same-sex marriage, and other issues best left to the people.

Judicial taxation. "Judicial taxation" refers to federal court orders that require a state or local government to make significant expenditures to pay for court-ordered injunctions. For example, one federal judge ordered the state of Missouri to pay for approximately $2.6 billion in capital improvements and other costs to "desegregate" the school districts of St. Louis and Kansas City, which in recent years had lost many white students. To attract white students back into the system, a federal judge required Kansas City to maintain the most lavish schools in the nation, and actually ordered the city to raise property taxes to pay for his court-ordered remedies.

There's a name for tax increases imposed by appointed, life-tenured federal judges: taxation without representation. Under the Constitution, only Congress can lay and collect taxes; our Founding Fathers would be appalled at the thought of federal judges doing so. In *Federalist No. 48,* James Madison explained that in our democratic system, "the legislative branch alone has access to the pockets of the people." To codify this principle, Congress should consider restricting the federal courts' authority to order any government at any level to raise taxes under any circumstance.

Use of special masters. Federal judges sometimes appoint "special masters" to micromanage prisons, mental hospitals, and school districts. In the past, these special masters have been appointed to carry out the illegitimate excursions of judges into the province of the legislative and executive branches. Moreover, the use of special masters has been a form of taxation, in that state and local governments are required to pay their salaries and expenses—which have often been extravagant. In some cases, special masters have hired large staffs to help execute the court order. Congress should outlaw special masters; without them, federal judges would be constrained by the limits on their time and resources from managing prisons or other institutions.

Same-sex marriage. No area of the law has been more firmly reserved to the states than domestic relations. Nevertheless, the Court's reasoning in *Romer v. Evans* suggests the possibility that some federal judges will "discover" a constitutional right to homosexual marriage, and thus remove the issue from the democratic process.

The Hawaii Supreme Court recently indicated that it would soon recognize homosexual marriages, which all other states would then have to recognize under the Full Faith and Credit Clause of the Constitution (Article IV). This possibility motivated Congress to pass the Defense of Marriage Act, which authorized any state to refuse to recognize a same-sex marriage performed in another state. The Act does not, however, prevent the federal judiciary from usurping this issue. Congress should consider going one step further to remove the jurisdiction of the lower federal courts over same-sex marriages to ensure that this cultural issue is decided by the legislative process in each state.

4. The states should press Congress to amend the Constitution in a way that will allow the states to ratify constitutional amendments in the future without the approval of Congress.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One reason judicial activism is so dangerous and undemocratic is that reversing or amending federal court decisions is so difficult. When a decision by the Supreme Court or a lower federal court is based on the Constitution, the decision cannot be reversed or altered except by a constitutional amendment. Such constitutional decisions are immune from presidential vetoes or congressional legislation.

The existing means of amending the Constitution, however, are seldom effective in halting judicial activism. The amendment procedure set forth in Article V of the Constitution is difficult and lengthy for good reason: to avoid hasty changes spurred by the passions of the moment. But history has shown that even the most egregious court decisions—particularly those that affect the balance of power between the national government and the states—have been impervious to correction by constitutional amendment. One reason for this is that Congress, which must initiate such amendments, is loath to give up federal power.

The amendment procedure of the U.S. Constitution led Lord Bryce to conclude in his 1888 study, *The American Commonwealth,* that "[t]he Constitution which is the most difficult to change is that of the United States." This difficulty has encouraged judicial activism and allowed the unelected federal courts to "twist and shape" the Constitution, as Jefferson predicted, as an "artist shapes a ball of wax." The reason that the difficult amendment procedure encourages judicial activism is simple: Life-tenured judges are less likely to show restraint when the possibility that their rulings will be rejected is slight.

Judges with life tenure show less restraint when their chances of being overruled by constitutional amendment are slight.

Consequently, one strategy to rein in the federal judiciary is to revise the amendment procedure in Article V of the Constitution to allow the states to amend the Constitution without Congress's approval and without a constitutional convention.

Here's how it would work: When two-thirds of state legislatures pass resolutions in support of a proposed amendment to the Constitution, Congress would have to submit it to all the states for ratification. The proposal would then become part of the Constitution once the legislatures of three-fourths of the states ratify it. Congress's role would be purely ministerial. This process would give the states equal power with Congress to initiate an amendment and would further check the power of the federal courts and of Congress.

5. *Congress should stop the federalization of crime and the expansion of litigation in federal court.*

Whenever Congress enacts a new federal criminal statute or a statute creating a cause-of-action in federal court, it enlarges the power and authority of the federal courts and provides more opportunities for judicial activism. At the same time, the federalization of crimes that have traditionally concerned state and local governments upsets the balance between the national government and the states. The following steps can help reduce the federalization of the law and once again restore balance to the federal-state relationship.

Recodify the U.S. Code. In the present federal criminal code, important offenses like treason are commingled with insignificant offenses like the unauthorized interstate transport of water hyacinths. The Federal Courts Study Committee found that the current federal code is "hard to find, hard to understand, redundant, and conflicting." Ideally, Congress would start with a blank slate, recodifying only those offenses that truly belong under federal jurisdiction. Due to the highly political nature of crime, such an undertaking might require the creation of an independent commission, modeled after the recent commission for closing unneeded military bases.

Require a "federalism assessment" for legislation. This idea would require that all federal legislation offer a justification for a national solution to the issue in question, acknowledge any efforts the states have taken to address the problem, explain the legislation's effect on state experimentation, and cite Congress's constitutional authority to enact the proposed legislation.

Create a federalism subcommittee within the judiciary committees of the House and Senate. First proposed by President Reagan's Working Group on Federalism, federalism subcommittees would attempt to ensure compliance with federalism principles in all proposed legislation.

Judicial activism has harmed virtually every aspect of public policy in America. Liberalism has accomplished much of its agenda in the last 30 years not through the electoral process, but instead in the federal courts. Conservatives will never be able to shape public policy until they can curb activist judges. Congress can and should move to do so.

Edwin Meese III, *the 75th attorney general of the United States (1985-1988), is currently the Ronald Reagan Fellow at The Heritage Foundation.* ***Rhett DeHart*** *is special counsel to Mr. Meese. This article is adapted from* Mandate for Leadership IV, *published by The Heritage Foundation in January 1997.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Town Square

NEWS FROM THE CITIZENSHIP MOVEMENT

Groups To Watch

A Head Start for Charities

There may be no such thing as a free lunch, but individual citizens, families, and companies interested in starting charities can now receive the required legal work absolutely gratis. Through its new "Counsel for Charitable Giving" program, the Washington Legal Foundation hopes to spur the formation of new philanthropic groups throughout the country. Setting up such tax-exempt institutions usually requires legal counsel and copious help filing forms with the IRS. The foundation, a nonprofit, public-interest law firm in Washington, D.C., is offering to provide free advice and the services of D.C. tax lawyer William J. Lehrfeld to people starting nonprofits.

The activities and philosophy of such charities must be in accord with WLF's own principles: free enterprise, limited and accountable government, entrepreneurial spirit, and patriotism. Hoping to create more philanthropy overall, WLF has already fielded several dozen serious inquiries from would-be foundation founders.

☞ *Washington Legal Foundation; contact Daniel Popeo, chairman and legal counsel—2009 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel.: 202-588-0302, fax: 202-588-0371.*

Education Reformers

Nobel laureate Milton Friedman and his wife, Rose, have started a new foundation bearing their names to promote "reform of elementary and secondary education by increasing competition through parental choice."

The new group, headquartered in Indianapolis, Indiana, will champion education alternatives to public schools by sponsoring research on the benefits of such competition, raising public awareness, providing legal assistance to activists, granting money to parental groups and nonprofits, and maintaining a database of legislative developments. Friedman was one of the first advocates of vouchers that allow parents to choose among public, private nonsectarian, and private religious schools.

☞ *Milton and Rose D. Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice; contact: Robert Enlow—One American Sq., P.O. Box 82078. Indianapolis, Ind. 46282. Tel.: 317-681-0745, fax: 317-634-0945.*

Milton Friedman, education reformer.

Renewing American Character

A new Washington-based foundation is launching a pair of programs "to renew the American character." Lamenting the isolation and moral relativism of modern American culture, the Tricentennial Foundation for America (TFA) seeks to promote civic virtue by creating "character-building programs for youth, family, and professional people in all walks of life."

One of the foundation's projects is an after-school program for youth called Tricentennial Clubs for America. The youth activities would combine volunteerism, recreation, mentoring by adults, and character education, often in partnership with existing service organizations like Rotary Clubs and Kiwanis Clubs.

The foundation's second major project is a "calendar-based home-learning system" for promoting awareness of family history and reestablishing the family as the "primary stewards" of civic character. The program, called the Almanac for the American Family, allows households to "journal their current family events, document their family history, and reconstruct their roots with reference to American history and cultural customs and traditions."

TFA hopes to establish a grassroots network of "resource centers" and communication links joining families to their local cultural, civic, and religious institutions.

☞ *Tricentennial Foundation for America—National Press Bldg., ste. 941, Washington, D.C. 20045. Tel.: 202-637-2076, fax: 202-637-0070.*

Cautionary Tales

Young Thugs

Although the overall crime rate in New York City has declined dramatically in recent years, prosecutor Peter Reinharz notes that violent crimes committed by teenage predators have increased sharply. Reinharz blames this soaring teen crime wave on the New York state legislature, which passed and continues to preserve the Family Court Act governing juvenile justice in New York. This Act, with its anti-incarceration, pro-rehabilitation bias, "has made sure that a New York crime victim's suffering comes cheap."

Under current New York law, the maximum sentence that 13- to 15-year-olds can receive for most crimes—including many crimes of violence—is 18 months of incarceration in a camp-like residential facility. In practice, even hard-core juvenile offenders guilty of reckless manslaughter or robbery serve no more than 10 months, while most car thieves usually get off with probation. (In New York, 16-year-old offenders are tried in adult criminal courts—rather than in family court—but the state's youthful-offender law authorizes judges to reduce their sentences sharply and expunge all criminal aspects of the case from their records.)

New York law favors youthful offenders in other ways as well. For example, it denies family court judges the authority to issue search warrants and arrest warrants, so that if police retrieve a gun used by a 15-year-old mugger without a search warrant, lawyers for the offender (usually from the Legal Aid Society) can seek to suppress the weapon as evidence. And even if juvenile offenders are convicted, they are considered not to have committed actual crimes, but only "acts which, if committed by an adult, would be a crime." Since no crime was committed, juvenile offenders acquire no criminal record.

According to Reinharz, "The philosophy behind the state's no-fault

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

juvenile justice system"—its emphasis on rehabilitation rather than punishment—"might have made sense in the days when juvenile offenders stole apples and picked pockets, often driven by poverty. . . . But are the teen criminals in court today, almost nine out of 10 of whom are violent felons, really juvenile delinquents rather than criminals?"

Reinharz argues that the New York state legislature's emphasis on rehabilitating youthful offenders is misplaced, since all the evidence indicates that authorities have had very little success in rehabilitating violent teens. He calls on the New York state assembly to emulate most other states and modify its juvenile justice code by lengthening sentences and trying violent teens in criminal courts at an earlier age. "Surely," he concludes, "it's time for our assembly leadership to get mugged by reality, as the expression goes, before the rest of us all get mugged in earnest."

☛ *"Why Teen Thugs Get Away With Murder," by Peter Reinharz,* City Journal, *Autumn 1996.*

Thoughts on Civil Society

A New Model for Communities

The November-December 1996 issue of the *American Enterprise* addresses "Cures for Lonely Suburbs and Dying Cities." Journalist Philip Langdon describes a new trend in contemporary architecture and community development: The attempt to overcome the loneliness of conventional suburban life by returning to traditional community designs. "Traditionalist" community developers stress the importance of the public realm—streets, sidewalks, parks and gathering places—as a way of fostering a sense of community. In traditionalist developments, houses are built close enough together so that neighbors get to know each other, streets tend to be narrow to slow the flow of traffic, and most essential neighborhood services are accessible without cars.

"This setting benefits children as much as adults," Langdon contends. Children have the opportunity to explore the neighborhood and develop a healthy sense of autonomy, while simultaneously enjoying the kind of adult supervision characteristic of traditional communities. By contrast, Langdon believes that conventional, automobile-dependent suburbs deprive children of the skills and judgment needed to manage unfamiliar situations.

Today, about 100 traditionalist developments are in planning or under construction. Perhaps the strongest indication that the new traditionalist town "is more than a hobby horse for nostalgic visionaries" is the Walt Disney Co.'s decision to build an entire new community—to be called Celebration—near Orlando, Florida. Designed to house 20,000 people and costing $2.5 billion, "Celebration elevates traditionalism from the province of mostly small, local, and often contrarian developers to the realm of amply financed mainstream corporations."

But what can be done to improve the neighborhoods of the overwhelming majority of Americans who do not live in traditional communities? Harvard professor Harvey Mansfield argues that neighborhoods can be improved by a renewed emphasis on "respectability." Littering, decorating public spaces with graffiti and begging are all instances of the breakdown of respectability. "It is wrong and undemocratic," Mansfield writes, "not to make the effort to gain our fellow citizens' respect."

Robert H. Nelson of the University of Maryland believes that residents of inner-city neighborhoods should be allowed to privatize essential services. "Private inner-city neighborhoods could contract competitively for trash

Innovations in Public Safety

Like many conservative state policy groups, the Pioneer Institute for Public Policy, in Boston, Massachusetts, sponsors an annual competition for "better government." Recently it honored 10 innovations in public safety, its category for 1996. These state and municipal government initiatives and nonprofit projects, many of them in Massachusetts, include the following:

Alliance All Purpose (Mass.)—A group home for adolescent boys that seeks to "channel the energy and ambitions of troubled youth into the mainstream through manual labor and entrepreneurship."

Right Turn (Mass.)—A proposal for private operation of public alcohol-treatment facilities, under which it would expand treatment to include monitoring and aftercare and would require nonindigent DUI offenders to pay the costs of treatment.

Volunteer community policing (San Diego, Calif.)—A "volunteer services unit" in San Diego that uses 600 citizen volunteers to staff community-policing initiatives, including a "crisis-intervention team" and a "retired senior patrol."

ReTec America (Cambridge, Mass.)—A supervised, after-school educational program for computer literacy, offered in schools and public-housing projects for "youth who might otherwise turn to crime."

Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (Boston, Mass.)—A community development program that seeks to "design crime out of the neighborhood" with strategies such as lighting public parks and renovating abandoned buildings for habitation.

Operation Night Light (Boston, Mass.)—A joint venture between Boston's police and probation departments, it promotes the sharing of information about offenders and sends Boston detectives to the homes of probationers to provide protection for probation officers and issue lessons on discipline.

Zero Tolerance (Worcester, Mass.)—Seeks to drive drug activity out of targeted neighborhoods by coordinating the efforts of several city community-development offices with those of the police department.

For more information, contact the Pioneer Institute for Public Policy Research, 85 Devonshire Street, 8th floor, Boston, Mass. 02109. Tel.: 617-723-2277, fax: 617-723-1880.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

collection, street cleaning, and other services, bypassing expensive and ineffective municipal bureaucracies." Alan Ehrenhalt, editor of *Governing* magazine, regards neighborhood schools as the engine of neighborhood renewal.

Robert B. Hawkins Jr. of the Institute for Contemporary Studies believes that, "Washington and the state capitals must return real authority to citizens in the form of charter schools, tenant ownership, and governance of public housing projects, and the like." And traditionalist developer Henry M. Turley Jr. believes in returning to "older, traditional ways of building communities [that] were often more wholesome, comfortable, and efficient" than their modern counterparts.

But it's not only community developers who are concluding that in many respects the past was better than the present. Fred Siegel, a professor at the Cooper Union in New York City, writes, "If we could simply return our older cities to the conditions they enjoyed before Lyndon Johnson declared 1965 'The Year of the Cities'. . . it would be considered an historic achievement." The massive failure of the urban-renewal programs begun during the 1960s has led to a radical rethinking of how best to help the urban poor. Instead of pouring billions of taxpayer dollars into an ineffective social service bureaucracy, the emphasis now is on fostering business-financed inner-city economic growth.

Currently, the most important sources of such economic growth in New York are in retailing and niche manufacturing. "It would be a happy conjunction of forces if some of the workers in these new manufacturing jobs could come from the ranks of those scheduled to be moved off AFDC by the 1996 welfare reform bill," concludes Siegel. "But that will be a difficult task."

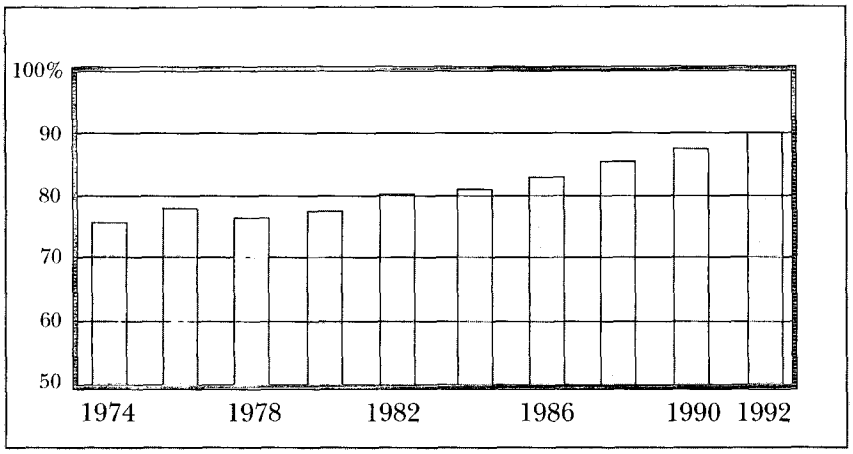
The task would be much simpler, writes Joel Kotkin, if our large and poorly governed urban mega-jurisdictions were broken up into smaller political units. And, in fact, "regional secession movements" exist throughout California, in the New York boroughs of Queens and Staten Island, and even in Kansas. In Los Angeles, that hotbed of contemporary urban secessionism, both conservative and liberal politicians endorse the general right of cities or school districts to secede.

The Real Status of Women in America

The Independent Women's Forum and the American Enterprise Institute have released an invaluable almanac of statistics on the political and economic status of American women. The booklet challenges conventional wisdom about the severity of the glass ceiling and other measures of women's lack of progress, and demonstrates that many gains have gone unnoticed and unappreciated.

For instance, women actually lead men in the attainment of higher education. And, as this chart shows, the disparity in pay between men and women has been closing steadily as women enter new fields and climb corporate ranks. The gap has almost disappeared when controlled for demographic characteristics such as education and type of job.

Pay of single women 16 to 29 years old as a percentage of men's pay, controlled for demographic characteristics including education, race, part- or full-time work, job type, and union status.



Source: *Women's Figures: The Economic Progress of Women in America*, by Diana Furchtgott-Roth and Christine Stolba, published by the Independent Women's Forum and the American Enterprise Institute. IWF—tel.: 703-243-8989, fax: 703-243-9230.

Secessionism is popular, argues Kotkin, because governing can be done far more flexibly, quickly and intelligently in smaller jurisdictions. "When city deficits mounted in L.A.," he writes, "the city council raised city taxes and fees. The smaller cities, in contrast, responded by slashing fees to provide businesses with incentives to expand, while putting the lid on city spending."

As a result, the unemployment rate in small cities adjacent to Los Angeles, such as Burbank and Glendale, is much lower than in its giant neighbor, and while major corporations have been fleeing Los Angeles in droves, its smaller neighbors are experiencing a massive business expansion fueled by such firms as Time Warner, Disney, and NBC. "The comparative fortunes of these smaller cities and the big city of Los Angeles," he concludes, "is telling evidence of the benefits of devolving political power to a more local level than most current city boundaries allow."

☞ *"Cures for Lonely Suburbs and Dying Cities,"* American Enterprise, *November-*

Submissions Welcome

Town Square is intended as an interactive resource for our readers. *Policy Review* welcomes suggestions for publications, events, and news for inclusion. Contact:

D.W. Miller, Town Square editor
Policy Review
214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
Tel: 202-546-4400, fax: 202-608-6136, e-mail: millerd@heritage.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Profiles in Citizenship

A Union Leader Betrayed

Before the last election, the AFL-CIO, under the direction of its president John Sweeney, spent nearly $40 million lobbying on behalf of candidates who wished to expand the size and scope of government. It was the most ambitious political program the AFL-CIO had ever undertaken. It was also one at odds with the vision that labor pioneer Samuel Gompers had for the union movement.

Gompers was born in London in 1850. His formal education ended at the age of 10, when poverty forced him to leave his neighborhood's Jewish school and find work in the shoemaking business. He quickly grew tired of that trade and coaxed his father into teaching him cigarmaking. But even with the addition of Samuel's income, the family was unable to make ends meet. So in 1863, the Gompers family, like thousands of other European families of that period, secured passage to New York. In America they didn't expect to find a handout, but rather the opportunity for a better life.

Gompers soon began work in a New York cigarmaking factory. He was instrumental in the founding of the National Cigarmakers Union and served as its vice president for four years. In 1881, the cigarmakers joined several other unions in creating the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada.

In 1886, the federation was reorganized and renamed the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Gompers was elected president and paid a yearly "salary" of $1,000. He quickly proved himself capable and, with the exception of 1895, was annually reelected president until his death in 1924. During that period—as the AFL's membership grew to more than 4 million—real wages increased, work weeks shortened, and working conditions improved in industry after industry.

Although he supported such legal protections as child-labor laws and general liability laws for employers, he favored union bargaining power over government regulation as a means to advance the economic standing of wage earners. As historian Florence Calvert Thorne has written, Gompers thought that "by joining hands with like-minded workers," laborers could increase their "bargaining strength for higher wages which could make more material comforts available." That, coupled with "personal freedom and self-dependence, would help them to be alert and responsible citizens of their community."

Samuel Gompers, first president of the AFL.

A Nonpartisan Union

From the beginning, Gompers was wary of embroiling the AFL in politics of any kind, partisan or otherwise. He had seen a rival labor organization—the Knights of Labor—implode over faulty political alliances and feared that the same thing could happen to the AFL. More fundamentally, he believed that government activism was harmful to the working man.

In 1915, he wrote, "Doing for people what they can and ought to do for themselves is a dangerous experiment. In the last analysis the welfare of the workers depends upon their own private initiative." He applied that belief to issue after issue.

He argued that "compulsory sickness insurance for workers is based upon the theory that they are unable to look after their own interests and the state must interpose its authority and wisdom and assume the relation of parent or guardian. There is something in the very suggestion of this relationship and this policy that is repugnant to free-born citizens."

As for welfare programs, Gompers believed that "social insurance cannot remove or prevent poverty." Moreover, he maintained that welfare is "undemocratic" because it tends "to fix the citizens of the country into two classes, and a long established system would tend to make these classes rigid."

Gompers also worried that welfare would undermine the ethic of self-responsibility. As early as 1915—20 years before the enactment of Social Security—he stated, "Whether as a result of laziness or incompetency there is a steadily growing disposition to shift responsibility for personal progress to outside agencies. What can be the result of this tendency but the softening of the moral fiber of the people?"

Undoubtedly, he would have disapproved of the modern regulatory state as well. In an article for the *American Federationist*, Gompers argued that "regulation of industrial relations is not a policy to be entered upon lightly—establishment of regulation for one type of relation necessitates regulating of another, until finally all industrial life grows rigid with regulation." And when asked in 1916 if he favored a law mandating an eight-hour day, he remarked, "Do you know where the eight-hour law in California originated? It was started by the Socialist Party of California." For Gompers, a fierce critic of the American Socialist and Communist parties, that seemed be a sufficient response.

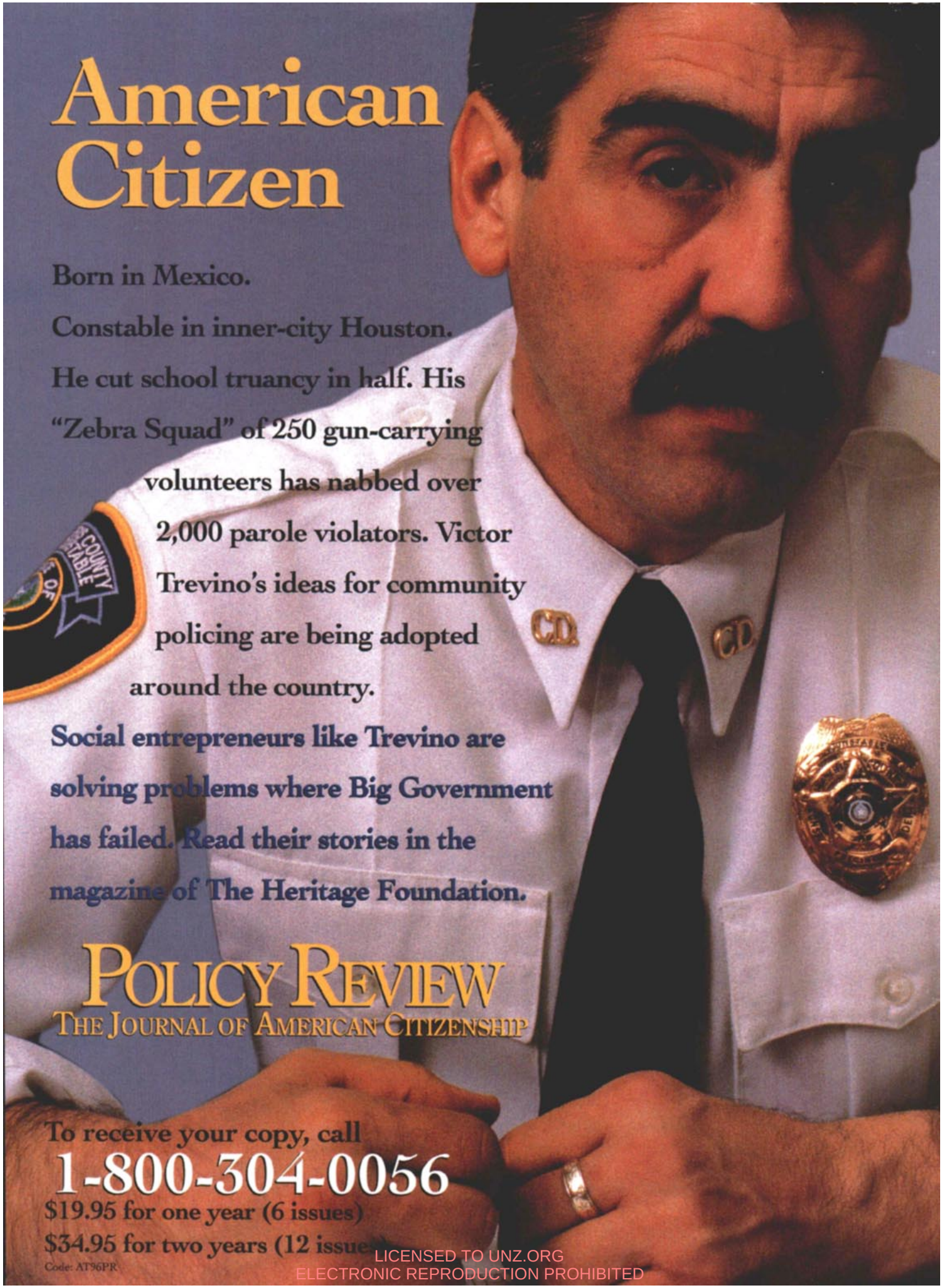
Samuel Gompers's lifelong devotion to both the union movement and Jeffersonian political principles improved the lives of millions of working men and women. He rightly deserves to be called the greatest friend labor has ever known.

Photo by Bettmann Archive

by Aaron Steelman

Aaron Steelman is a staff writer at the Cato Institute, which is located across from the Samuel Gompers Park in Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


American Citizen
Born in Mexico.
Constable in inner-city Houston.
He cut school truancy in half. His "Zebra Squad" of 250 gun-carrying volunteers has nabbed over 2,000 parole violators. Victor Trevino's ideas for community policing are being adopted around the country.
Social entrepreneurs like Trevino are solving problems where Big Government has failed. Read their stories in the magazine of The Heritage Foundation.
POLICY REVIEW
THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP
To receive your copy, call
1-800-304-0056
$19.95 for one year (6 issues)
$34.95 for two years (12 issue
Code: AT96PR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CPAC '97

"For nations in history, just as for individuals in everyday life, character determines destiny. America faces a test of character that may well decide it's destiny."

— President Ronald Reagan

The Election is Over. Our Vision is Clear. Now Our Work Begins.

The 1997 Conservative Political Action Conference

For the past twenty-four years, CPAC has provided conservatives worldwide a unique opportunity to meet and hear recognized leaders speak and participate in forums and panel discussions on both domestic and foreign issues.

President Ronald Reagan • President George Bush • Senator Trent Lott • Senator Phil Gramm • Senator Jesse Helms • Senator Dirk Kempthorne • Speaker Newt Gingrich • Jack Kemp • Dan Quayle • Bill Bennett • Jeane Kirkpatrick • Pat Robertson • Phyllis Schlafly • Alan Keyes • Steve Forbes • Dick Cheney • Pat Buchanan have all addressed this conference for conservative thinkers.

We must protect and defend our cherished conservative principles. That's why you can't afford to miss this exciting event.

Receive a discount by registering by January 3, 1997. Don't hesitate — there is no doubt that this year's conference will draw another sell out crowd. Send in your registration today or for more information call **1-800-752-4391.**

Make checks payable to
CPAC '97
Mail registration to:
CPAC '97 Registration
919 Prince Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

Package Options:

❑ **Presidential Banquet Package:**
Congressional Reception, Presidential Banquet, Awards Banquet, Conference and Exhibit Hall access — $375.

❑ **Awards Banquet Package:**
Two receptions (cash bar), Awards Banquet, Conference and Exhibit Hall access — $190.

❑ **Conference Only Package:**
Conference and Exhibit Hall access — $90 Non-Student, $50 Student.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ ST: _____ Zip: _____

Telephone: (H) _____ (O) _____

If paying by Visa or Mastercard, please complete the following:

Card Number: _____ Exp. Date: _____

Name as it appears on card: _____

Signature: _____

(a $1 service charge will be added for using your credit card)

CPAC '97

Mark Your Calenders!
The 1997 Conservative Political Action Conference.
March 6-8, 1997 • Omni Shoreham Hotel • Washington, DC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED